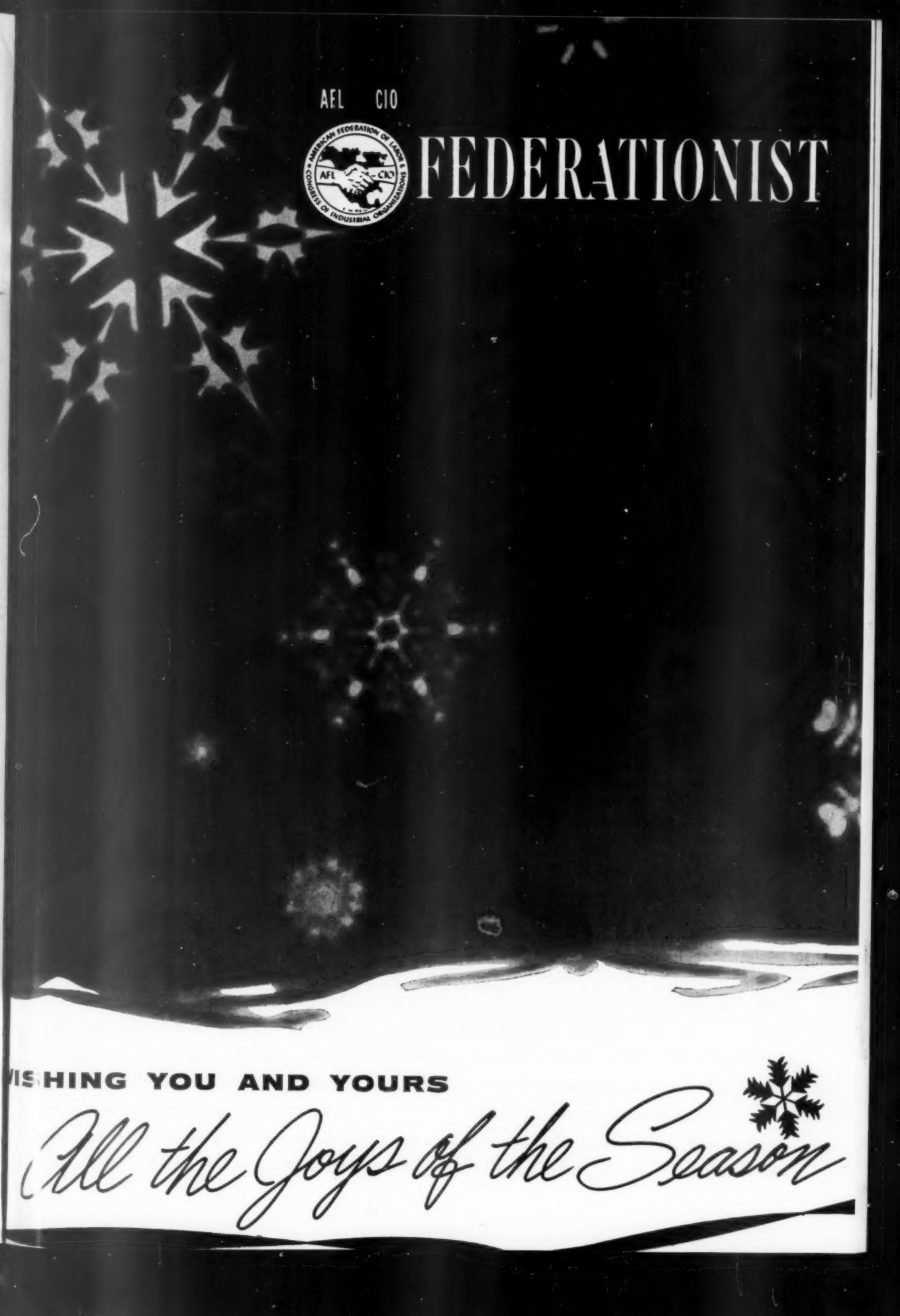

AFL CIO
FEDERATIONIST
WISHING YOU AND YOURS
All the Joys of the Season



COLD WEATHER SHOULDN'T STOP YOU

ARE YOU meticulous about fulfilling your obligations as a trade unionist? To be a good trade unionist one must be a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not neglect his obligations. Do your share to strengthen your union. Make it your business to attend meetings regularly. It's at the meetings that you get your chance to take part in shaping the policies of your union. Almost all of us want our unions to be virile and thoroughly democratic. It's up to us—and no one else—to make sure that our unions always have those qualities. Your union will be the clean and democratic kind of organization that you want it to be—if you always do your part. So attend the meetings—be the weather foul or fair.

AFL CIO

American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

DECEMBER, 1958 | **GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*** | Vol. 65, No. 12

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Equal Rights

We in the labor movement have not only a civil rights policy but also a civil rights program. Ahead of everything else in this program is our determination to prevent and stamp out all discrimination because of race, creed or color in labor's own ranks. Our goal is to assure to all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, the full benefits of union organization. To this end the entire resources of our movement are utilized.

Labor has been alert and responsive to the challenge of civil rights of every American in every field of life. Labor has led in the legislative battle for a proper civil rights law and is continuing to insist on broadening its application. The ranks of the trade union movement have been vibrantly responsive to labor's insistent call for justice, nationally as well as locally.

Labor has always believed that free and equal public education is the birthright of every child. Nearly a hundred years ago labor began its drive for compulsory school attendance laws for all children between 7 and 15 for at least ten months a year.

We insist that equal rights of all Americans in every field of life, rights established by our Constitution and safeguarded by the courts of the land, be held inviolate and secure. To overcome massive resistance to the law and mass disruption in the education of our children, we call on all men and women of good will to join in a campaign of massive insistence on free public schools, open and available as a birthright to every American child throughout the land.

Our cause is just. We press it because we feel that it is right to insist on equality for all. We are doing it because we believe that we are our brothers' keepers. I am confident that our cause will prevail. But in order to gain our goal of equal opportunity for all, we must make sure that every trade unionist becomes an active recruiting officer on behalf of our just and vital cause.

Charles S. Zimmerman.

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A Mandate for Progress

AN EDITORIAL BY GEORGE MEANY

FOR ELECTION STORY, TURN TO PAGE 9.
'RIGHT TO WORK' STORY IS ON PAGE 11.

ON NOVEMBER 4, 1958, the voters of America spoke up for progress. There can be no other conclusion drawn from the overwhelming vote cast for those candidates who demonstrated their faith in the dynamic character of America.

The voters left no doubt about their determination to build a better tomorrow and their refusal to be satisfied with the past. It was a sound decision—a common-sense approach to the complicated economic and social welfare problems of our time.

America must move forward constantly because ours is a constantly growing nation. We can't stand still because to do so would be, in reality, to move backward.

Each year thousands of new workers join America's labor force. How can we provide them with a livelihood, with the bread-and-butter necessities, to say nothing of the luxuries of life, unless our economy expands?

Thousands of new jobs must be created in this country each year and that, of course, can only be achieved through greater sales and greater production.

Our entire nation is geared to consumer purchasing power. Without it our great productive know-how would be unimportant, for there is no sense in making products unless someone buys them.

The answer, therefore, is to increase purchasing power.

Labor unions provide part of that answer through collective bargaining, for as we improve wage levels we increase purchasing power. But for millions of Americans the answer lies with the Congress of the United States—with policies which promote the general welfare, the living standards of millions, the power to buy the things that every American family wants and which millions today can't afford.

The time for bold, forward legislative steps is clearly here. The voters proved they want that kind of action. They showed they were fed up with recession and unemployment and "second-best" years.

Congress can respond to this mandate by putting America back to work, by building the schools, homes, hospitals, airports and roads which we need so badly. The people spoke up for a sound wage floor for those millions now denied the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. They said they wanted a better share of our wealth for America's farmers and a better break for the millions of retired citizens. They demanded a program of national security geared to our needs, not our minimum budget possibilities.

The voters said America must march forward. Now it is up to Congress to translate that desire into action through legislation that is sound, progressive and intelligent.

That better tomorrow, which has been the dream of mankind for centuries, can be achieved if our public officials show the same breadth of vision that was demonstrated on Election Day by the people who are America.

THE RAILROADS' BIG SCARE

By A. E. LYON

Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Railway Labor Executives Association

IF THE American public today is confused, somewhat pessimistic and even apprehensive about the future of the railroads, it isn't surprising. In fact, this state of mind may be said to have been deliberately nurtured by the railroads themselves.

Railroad management had a reason for creating the false atmosphere of gloom which has pervaded recent references to the railroads' economic status appearing in the general press.

That reason, you may be sure, was to serve the railroads' own ends. You can safely bet your bottom dollar that this purpose was far removed from the basic public interest, which still demands that the railroads of America be recognized for what they really are—an indispensable and vital system of mass transportation that will remain essential not only for national defense but also for the future economic expansion of the nation throughout the foreseeable future.

This is not to say that the railroads haven't had their problems in recent months. Like every other industry, they have. After all, workers don't need to be told about the recession that has prevailed throughout this period.

With the decline of the economy at large, the railroads, of course, lost traffic, their income dropped and profits declined. That has always happened in similar recessions in the past, since railroads remain a peculiarly sensitive barometer to the national economic weather.

What made things different this time was not the nature of the economic dip on the railroads but the hysteria of railroad management that accompanied the business downturn. The handwringing was something to see and the lamentations were something to hear.

Rail management made certain that everyone did see and hear, for this time the companies clearly had plans to use the recession as a lever to wring major concessions from the public. And wring concessions the railroads did. Behind the propaganda barrage by which the railroads have convinced even some of their own officials that rail transport is a dying industry was the immediate purpose of winning certain legislative ends which rail management had been seeking for some time.



A. E. LYON

These included such things as lower taxes, government aid in a number of ways and escape from long-established regulation by state regulatory bodies and the Interstate Commerce Commission, particularly in regard to the abandonment of passenger service and rate-making.

The railroads' cries of despair did not go unheard by Congress. The Smathers Committee responded by conducting Senate hearings into the condition of the railroads, and thus the stage was set for the unfolding of the railroads' legislative program embracing the foregoing goals.

Of course, the railroad lobby—

If the railroads will treat the public properly, passenger service can be made highly profitable. But the roads' attitude is negative.



throughout history one of the most powerful and effective in the nation—was too adept merely to state its objectives and let it go at that. To create the climate in Congress that would get most of its legislative program enacted, the railroad industry brought forth its top array of officialdom as witnesses.

Railroad president after railroad president took the stand. Untucking their silk handkerchiefs and dabbing at their eyes, they cried out that rail transport was doomed. They were careful to add, of course, that it just might be saved if Congress would hurry up and give the railroads the concessions they were asking.

The main import of their testimony, however, was to scare the daylights out of a body of lawmakers who always have recognized, even if rail management itself doesn't, that strong railroads are indispensable both to national security and national economic health.

The performance was as effective as any ever given even by performers coached by Robert Montgomery—and Congress responded, as the recession lingered on, by giving the railroads most of what they had asked.

LET ME emphasize that organized labor supported, in principle, many of the legislative changes to aid the railroads that were voted by Congress. There was much sense and only simple economic logic, for example, in those changes which were intended to place the railroads on a more equitable footing with other forms of transportation, which today are the recipients of heavy governmental subsidies while rail transport, despite the heavy bounties from the government in earlier days, has for many years now been recognized as one of the least subsidized of public utilities.

The continuance of wartime taxes on rail freight, in such circumstances, is obviously discriminatory, and the railway unions joined management in calling for their repeal.

On the other hand, railway labor broke sharply with management on the question of freeing the railroads from government regulation, which past experience has proved is essential to protect the public interest. The flood of abandonments of service which has followed the granting by Congress of the railroads' request in this area shows conclusively that organized labor's concern was not without valid foundation.

While supporting the railroads in many of their requests, however, organized labor made clear that it was doing so on the merits of such proposals and certainly not because it shared rail management's pessimistic views concerning the economic future of the railroads.

Chairman G. E. Leighty of the Railway Labor Executives Association testified that, considering the current level of the economy as a whole, the financial position of the railroads was excellent. He pointed out that the carriers had not presented a complete picture of the financial and operating position of the industry and that, because of incomplete information and improper emphasis, they had conveyed a general picture of hopelessness and despair.

Actually, he said, the capital structure of the railroads was fundamentally as good as at any time in their history and net profits have been stabilized at a relatively high level. He expressed confidence that the railroads would experience a rapid recovery with the return of more prosperous times. His forecast is being fully vindicated.

Unfortunately, railroad management appears to have itself begun to believe the predictions of gloom and doom it had made for a clearcut propaganda objective. Even after the companies had won their legislative goals—indeed, even today, when the return to prosperity on the rails which organized labor predicted is starting to send rail profits to new high levels—rail management remained, and still is, pessimistic.

Of course, here and there a few management officials stand out as exceptions, but by and large the actions and policies of the railroads stem from a negative atmosphere that reflects little or no faith in the future of railroading. Unless this atmosphere, created by rail management itself rather than by any valid economic realities, is dispelled, it may do irreparable damage not only to the railroads themselves but to the nation which still needs their services.

Let's look for a minute at some of the things that are happening to the railroads because rail management is failing to meet its obligations to the future. First of all, it is already true that the railroads have begun to lose added profits, in an amount that gets bigger every day, simply because by their failure to repair or replace their rolling stock they are now faced with a shortage of cars needed to handle the business that is being offered to them.

Rail management's self-inflicted fear of the future has already caught up with the roads in a way that hurts directly—inability to take in all the profits that are possible.

Interstate Commerce Commission figures on the number of "bad order" cars and the freight car shortage in recent weeks both indicate official government recognition of this simple economic fact. In fact, management's failure to maintain rolling stock adequately has been so glaring that ICC Chairman Freas has publicly called the current situation "alarming" and warned that continued pickup in business "will result in one of the worst car shortages in recent years."

Moreover, even after the railroads this year obtained from Congress legislation providing low-interest loans for modernization and repair of their facilities, rail management proved so deficient in acting that then Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks felt compelled to point out that the railroads were failing to avail themselves of the loan provisions inserted in the Transportation Act of 1958.

PRESIDENT A. J. Bernhardt of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, a top labor expert on maintenance and repair operations, has charged that the railroads' "shameful neglect" of their upkeep of rolling stock "today stands indicted by irrefutable economic facts as unwise, uneconomical and socially irresponsible, since it

With streamliners, some roads are giving planes and buses a real run for their money.



has gravely endangered national security by jeopardizing the basic transportation system needed for national defense."

He said that the heavy cutbacks in railroad shopcraft employment over the last two years "now are bringing the inevitable consequences in an excessively high number of bad order freight cars, higher accident rates and a growing shortage of equipment to handle the major increase in business offered the railroads as the result of the current economic upturn."

The facts are that since February of 1958 the number of railway equipment maintenance workers has been at a record low—far under even the level of the depression Thirties. Accompanying this layoff and directly due to it has been a steady rise in the percentage of freight cars needing repairs. The figure reached a shocking high of 8.3 per cent in September—a month when the upturn in business made many of those cars needed to handle freight.

Moreover, although freight traffic has risen to highly profitable levels in recent months, there has been no significant move to call back railroad shopcraft workers, who in September were down to 192,443. That is 73,000 less than the number working in 1956, when about normal maintenance conditions prevailed.

WHILE the foregoing figures deal only with freight car maintenance, the same lack of foresight and sense of responsibility on the part of railroad management may be said to have prevailed in regard to their plant as a whole. Accidents, both to railroad workers and to railroad passengers, have inevitably increased as fewer inspections and inadequate maintenance of track, as well as of equipment and structures, bring the inescapable consequences.

Moreover, even though passenger service provides a major portion of income, it's no secret that railroad management, particularly in the East, has been trying to get out of the passenger business for some time. Some Western railroads, which by better promotion, more concern for passenger comfort and lower rates, have made passenger service highly profitable, have resisted this pattern, but generally railroad management has shown little interest and no managerial ability in devising means to meet the increasing competition from other forms of transport.

Instead of responding by reducing fares and providing better and more frequent service—which has proved successful in terms of profits on those few lines where it has been tried—most railroad officials have tried to make up for falling passenger income by raising fares, reducing the number of trains and ignoring the need for constant modernization of both equipment and services.

At almost every turn, when asked to explain these cutbacks, railroad management officials have pointed to the lowered earnings of railroads during the recession and contended that this drop in income made the retrenchment necessary.

If railroad management really believes this—and evidence points to the conclusion that too many officials really do—then it is clear that the strategy of the railroads in fostering a climate of economic gloom to attain legislative concessions has, in the long run, backfired.

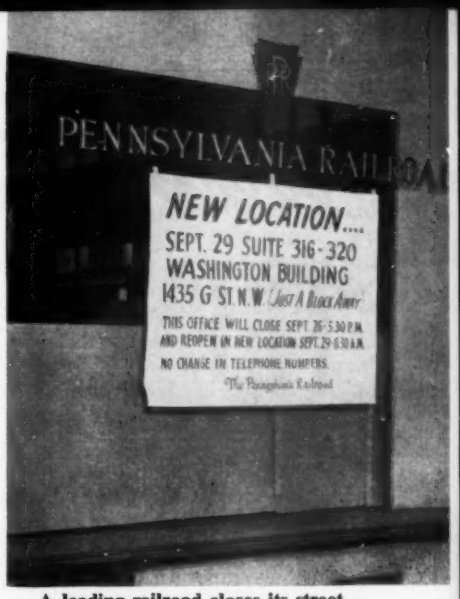
Lack of confidence in the future of railroading at the management level can, if continued, prove disastrous to the railroads and, if continued long enough, might cause such deterioration of plant and equipment, as well as of public confidence in the railroads' safety record, that the predictions of an end to railroads as we know them may come close to being brought about.

Such lack of confidence has no place in an industry as vital to the nation as railroad transportation, and management has done a grave disservice to the nation in thus selling the railroads' future short.

Organized labor on the railroads—today the chief victim of layoffs due to management's failings—nevertheless remains confident of the future of railroad transportation. The railroad unions, confident of public support and backing in their desire to make the railroads into the efficient, effective—and profitable—instrument of modern mass transport that they are capable of becoming, are pledged to continue their efforts to modernize railroad management methods until this objective is attained.

The railroads, because the nation cannot prosper without them, will succeed and continue in spite of the shortsightedness of management, but they can prosper better when foresight and confidence replace today's negligence and despair on the part of top railroad officials.

Prosperity is not just around the corner for the railroads; it's already here, if the carriers will only recognize that fact and provide the service that prosperity demands.



A leading railroad closes its street level ticket office in Washington. The deliberate policy seems to be to discourage the customers.

WHEN YOU DO
YOUR CHRISTMAS
SHOPPING . . .

Look for the

UNION LABEL

Nothing Can Eradicate
THE DESIRE TO ORGANIZE

By JOHN W. LIVINGSTON
Director, AFL-CIO Department of Organization

WE ARE entering what may prove to be the most decisive era in the history of the American labor movement—an era marked, on the one hand, by a Big Business attack upon labor of unprecedented proportions and, on the other, by the organizing challenge produced by changes in technology and the composition of the national work force.

All signs indicate that the anti-union campaign launched by the forces responsible for enactment of the Taft-Hartley Law is about to erupt as a massive, multi-front assault.

Anti-labor corporate interests reacted to the AFL-CIO merger in 1955 in an almost hysterical manner. They did not want a united labor movement in this country, although for years the newspapers they control had been demanding an end to what they called "labor warfare."

Readers of labor's magazine will recall that at the time of merger, three years ago, President Meany addressed a meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York City. His reasoned, objective discussion of organized labor's goal and its views of constructive labor relations was answered, in his presence, by a blistering attack upon labor delivered by a top officer of the NAM.

This was no accident but rather a reflection of the intense commitment of such persons and groups to the destruction of the labor movement as it exists today.

A review of the *Daily Labor Report* of the Bureau of National Affairs, a non-labor, professional information service, reveals with startling clarity the extent of the campaign that has been waged the last several years by labor's enemies.



JOHN W. LIVINGSTON

Not a week has gone by without seeing representatives of "hate labor" organizations appear before some group in furtherance of their aims. Congressional committees, state manufacturers' bodies, women's clubs, college seminars, professional societies, merchants' associations, political gatherings—none has been ignored by the tireless propagandists of the union-busters.

The attack is centered on no one issue, nor is there consistency in the attack.

At one time a demand is made that unions be brought under anti-trust laws because of their "monopolistic power." Another time the call is for assumption by international unions of more responsibility relative to their locals, for collective bargaining stability.

Denial of the right of unions to serve as a vehicle for the political expression of their members will be the gist of one address. Reduction of the collective bargaining process to a single-company or single-plant basis turns out to be the theme of another harangue.

Disclosure of wrongdoing by labor representatives becomes the basis for an attempt to portray the entire movement as corrupt. A picket line incident becomes "proof of the inherent violence of union activity."

Members of Congress have been deluged with anti-union material produced by the publicity departments of the various anti-union organizations. And into the schools of America literature in quantity is sent to teachers for use in classes and school libraries — literature skillfully designed to create an anti-labor bias in the minds of the teachers and the students.

When the forces of reaction have felt strong enough for a frontal campaign, they have undertaken legislative and political action. Compulsory open shop laws, restrictive licensing ordinances, laws prohibiting collective bargaining for state government employes have been among their favorite devices.

Now the organized opponents of trade unionism are openly preaching and practicing corporate political action on every level. Companies like General Electric and Gulf Oil have taken direct action to influence the outcome of political elections.

In addition, they are urging business interests the country over to throw off the myth of neutrality in politics and develop from their own executive ranks a political machine subservient to Big Business philosophy. Through all these actions and these plans runs the theme of crippling organized labor.

The latest manifestation of business determination to destroy the effectiveness of unions is the economic pact entered into by a number of the airline companies.

Of course, employer combinations against organized labor are nothing new. But there was a time when the leaders of business took pains to subsidize struck companies in a secret manner. Now they openly declare their intention to nullify labor's economic strength.

That the effort to destroy or at least seriously cripple organized labor is real—an actual fact and not just an imagined problem—cannot be denied. The evidence is overwhelming.

Organized labor thus enters upon the fourth year of merged existence confronted by a challenge to its institutional existence more formidable than any experience in the past.

Labor's Economic Review recently reminded us that "change is at the heart of the American economic system. * * * The process of change is continuous."

At times the tempo and scope of the changes are accentuated. We are going through such a period now. So great is the change that *Labor's Economic Review* described it as "a virtual revolution in American industrial life."

Technological changes have been taking place at an accumulating rate since World War II. This has meant an increase in economic output, change in productive processes and a remarkable adjustment in the composition of the production, craft and clerical work force.

FOR the first time in history, white-collar workers outnumber manual workers in the American economy. The combination of white-collar workers and service workers represents now more than half the total work force. By 1975 it is estimated that non-manual, non-farm workers will account for nearly 60 per cent of our working population.

Over 80 per cent of the present-day union membership is made up of blue-collar workers. This fact, coupled with the fact of the change in the ratio of white-collar to blue-collar workers, points up the absolute necessity for organized labor to make greater inroads into the white-collar field.

In addition, the nature of the work performed in industry and in the trades is itself undergoing change, a change more evident in the production field than in the crafts field, but common to both.

Even in basic industrial processes, automative devices are effecting a change in the nature of the work performed. More and more, manual operators are finding their jobs assuming the aspects of the technical or semi-technical—mental rather than manual in orientation.

In offices, however, clerical employes in increasing numbers are finding themselves being transformed almost to assembly-line workers as office procedures take on the form of plant operations.

Establishment of factories in areas formerly rural is no longer a novelty. The shift of industry to the South and to the West has been reported by many observers. Workers for these new operations are recruited from the rural areas where there is no tradition of unionism.

All these factors add up to a tremendous organizing challenge. Organized labor must bring these new workers, and new types of workers, within its ranks or its growth and influence will be impaired.

Thus the two great challenges labor faces today are the determined hostility of anti-union bastions and the changing composition of the working population resulting from technological advances.

What are the prospects?

First, let us consider the attacks upon labor. The guiding geniuses of this massive anti-union campaign have just received a setback from the American people. The dramatic defeat of "right to work" in five of the six states in which the issue was before the voters signifies that the attempt to isolate the labor movement from the rest of the nation has so far been unsuccessful.

Other evidence of this fact is provided by NLRB figures for the latest quarter. Despite adverse publicity arising from the disclosures of misdeeds on the part of some labor officials and the exploitation of those disclosures by labor-hating managements, AFL-CIO unions compiled the best victory record of any quarter for the last ten quarters.

Only the quarter immediately following the AFL-CIO merger bettered the mark that was attained in the third quarter of 1958.

More workers were included in bargaining units as a result of these NLRB election victories than in any other three-month period in the last two years.

The significance of these figures for the period immediately prior to the November elections should not be overlooked. The upturn in organizing success had more than just a time relationship to the political elections. There was, in part, a causal relationship, and there is a lesson to be learned from it.

JUST as organizing is the answer to the challenge of the changing nature of work and the changing character of the work force, so organizing is the answer to the war being waged against unions.

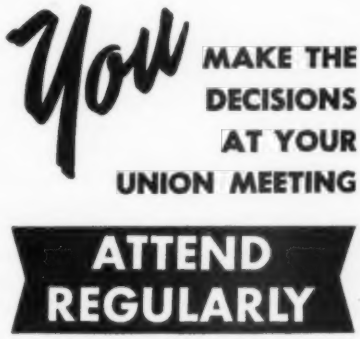
In this war there are many battlefronts. The fight must be waged on the legislative and the political fields. It must be conducted on the community problems level as well.

Fundamentally, however, the crucial, long-run battle must be waged on the organizing field. It is here that the labor movement will rise or fall. Labor must continue to organize, must continue to bring new workers into its ranks, must continue to adjust its programs and techniques so as to be responsive to the needs and aspirations of the workers of America.

If we continue to organize, the two greatest challenges facing us today will be met and our movement will go on to new and greater victories in the years ahead.

If, on the other hand, our organizing efforts falter, we shall face the stark reality of survival in an increasingly hostile environment.

I have no doubt as to the outcome. The desire to organize is so rooted in the philosophy of American trade unionism that nothing can eradicate it unless we ourselves abandon our heritage.





Our objective is equal opportunity for every citizen.

Good Will to All

By BORIS SHISHKIN
Director, AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights

CHRISTMAS is the time of friendliness, of neighborliness, of kindliness, of cheer. As we round out the year and wish happiness in the year to come, it is at Christmas time also that we take stock of the happenings of the year that is running out. And we begin to shape wishes and to make resolutions for the year to come.

In taking the measure of the accomplishments and progress made in the year just ending, we also note its shortcomings and failures.

The greatest failure of 1958 was the inability to win complete and general acceptance among us of equality for all without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Worst of all was the hate wave which brought in its wake violent bombings of schools, meeting places, homes and houses of worship. Equally bad were the threats of violence which filled with terror innocent school children and peace-loving worshipers.

To prevent the recurrence of such outbreaks, labor, along with all other right-minded citizens, has called on federal, state and local agencies for a full measure of law enforcement.

The AFL-CIO looks to the new Congress to extend effective protection of the federal law to every constitutionally guaranteed civil right of our citizens.

We are determined to attain our objective of equal opportunity for every American, by driving toward it in the halls of Congress, in legislatures and in the courts.

All these things we must do. But in order to gain our goal we must also win the hearts of the people themselves. In every community—East and West, North and South—we must win people over to our cause of brotherliness and neighborliness among all of us.

Christmas is a children's holiday. It is the time for us to stop to think about children. It is the time to realize that children come into this world with friendliness for all.

Children come into the world without prejudice, without enmity, without hatred toward anyone. Discrimination and prejudice based on race, creed or color are taught to children by grownups.

It is our duty, then, it is our responsibility, not to taint the pure hearts of little children with the teaching of prejudice and of hatred.

Let us make them understand that the only thing we hate is hate itself.

Let us make it clear to them also that, when we use words to proclaim our belief, to declare our intent, we really mean what we say.

At Christmas, when we call for "good will to all men," we make a pledge to act accordingly. Let us resolve to make that pledge good, not only in the coming year but, through our children, for all time.

THE PEOPLE DO ALL RIGHT



Most of the reports pouring into COPE's headquarters in Washington on election night were heartening to those who believe the United States must always move forward. Gathered around the desk were (in the usual order) Al Barkan, deputy director of COPE; Andrew Biemiller, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Legislation; James L. McDevitt, director of COPE, and William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

AMERICA came out of the 1958 elections a stronger and better nation. From coast to coast the liberal trend was so definite that it greatly boosted chances for legislation on every level—national, state and local—that would make life more meaningful for most of the people.

The election results held out the promise of unshackling some of the legislative chains that have hobbled working people in recent years.

Just two days after the election the AFL-CIO Executive Council promised to fight for repeal of the infamous Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act. This section permits states to pass so-called "right to work" laws. The Executive Council saw the outcome of the balloting as a "rebuke to cynical politicians and big business reactionaries who sought to make political capital out of the isolated instances of corruption in labor's ranks."

Contributing substantially to the victory march of candidates sympathetic to the ideals and aspirations of labor was the grass-roots, doorbell-ringing work of trade unionists in the wards and precincts.

There was a decided improvement this year in the registration of union members. On Election Day they turned out in record off-year numbers and showed that they had studied the issues and the rival candidates' records by voting for candidates who want to do something for the people and against reactionaries who want to return to the Nineteenth Century.

The voters in five states—California, Ohio, Colorado, Idaho and Washington — defeated "right to work" propositions, generally by wide margins. The compulsory open shop proposal won only in Kansas.

The results should make big business strategists think twice about trying to place "right to work" proposals on the ballot in other states.

Here and there a reactionary candidate won his contest. But by and large the reactionaries across the land went down to crushing defeat.

While pleased at the results of the elections, working people are not planning to rest on their laurels. Next year more than 700 elections will be held in cities in some thirty states—elections that will vitally affect the lives of many millions of men, women and children. The battle for both the 1959 and 1960 elections began on November 5. That means, COPE points out, that the pace, drive and energy which brought heartening results this year must not only be maintained but increased in the months ahead.

It was a rolling tide of votes that swept Democrats to overwhelming control of Congress and of many normally Republican states. The people gave President Eisenhower his third Democratic Congress in succession, this time with huge Democratic pluralities to replace the control won narrowly in 1954 and 1956.

The Democratic pluralities in the Senate and House, although very large, will not be large enough to override vetoes by Mr. Eisenhower by the required two-thirds majority on a straight party-line division.

Legislation in education, welfare and tax and appropriation fields will necessarily be framed both to attract some Republican support and to avoid White House disapproval.

Conservative Democrats, heavy with seniority, will still dominate many major committees in Congress.

Nevertheless, the Democratic vic-



Michigan voters gave seat in the Senate to Philip A. Hart.

tory was big and generally liberal. Democratic liberals from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific generally held their places by heavily increased pluralities. Republican conservatives and even some moderates were knocked out of office or won by sharply reduced margins.

Most Republicans who tried to exploit the official Administration line on the so-called "labor issue," often accompanied by the spreading of hate literature attacking alleged "labor bosses," were sharply repudiated.

Only in two states was the Democratic trend sensationally reversed. In New York, Nelson Rockefeller rolled up more than a half-million plurality to defeat Governor Averell Harriman and instantly was projected into the national scene as a potential power in the 1960 Republican nominating convention.

The one state that voted heavily for an anti-labor Republican was Arizona, where Senator Barry Goldwater won reelection with a plurality bigger than his 1952 margin.

To match the emergence of Governor-elect Rockefeller as a figure of national interest in the Republican party, the Democrats elected and reelected a large group of Governors and Senators likely to play a major part in the party's 1960 national convention.

These included Governors Orville Freeman of Minnesota and G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, Governor-elect Edmund G. Brown of California and Senators Stuart Symington of Missouri, John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Albert Gore of Tennessee, in addition to the already large number of incumbents whose terms did not expire.

A variety of locally important issues played a part in the liberal surge —joblessness in key industrial states, disaffection over farm policy and the appeal of many attractive liberal candidates. But the evidence was solid that a general disillusion with the quality of President Eisenhower's leadership, on questions of both domestic and foreign policy, was a strain running through the whole campaign.

The voters showed an unmistakable desire to try stronger Democratic participation in government in an effort to push Administration policy off what seemed to be dead center.

The turn toward the Democrats established the party in positions of strength in state legislatures that it had not held for many years. This trend ran clear across the country, from New England through the Midwest and to the Pacific Coast.

It could not be doubted that labor played a substantial role in the election of liberal candidates to Congress and the state houses. Nearly 70 per cent of the candidates supported by COPE, the Railway Labor Political League, political action groups of individual unions and state and local labor groups were successful in their bids for office.



The people of Minnesota sent Eugene J. McCarthy to Senate.

Labor support or opposition was one of the many factors in the election that saw almost uniform defeat of reactionaries. In a number of states labor felt there were no significant differences between the candidates and declined to endorse or give active support.

Labor support played an important role in the thirty-four Senate races where right-wing, anti-union candidates made the political and economic roles of unions major issues and in the states where "right to work" referendums were on the ballot.

Labor indicated support by COPE or individual local groups in thirty-two of the thirty-four Senatorial races. Of the thirty-two with labor support, twenty-five were victorious.

IN THE gubernatorial races labor indicated support in twenty-three of the thirty-three races. Seventeen of those supported were elected.

In the House races about 70 per cent of the candidates having some sort of labor support were elected.

AFL-CIO support or endorsement of Senate, House and gubernatorial candidates, as well as those seeking seats in the state legislatures and at city and county levels, is determined by local and state COPE organizations on the basis of voting records, questionnaires, interviews and other informational methods. Individual unions and their local groups use similar techniques.

Among the liberal Senatorial winners supported by labor were Clair Engle of California, Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, R. Vance Hartke of Indiana, Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, Harrison A. Williams, Jr., of New Jersey, Robert C. Byrd and Jennings Randolph, both of West Virginia, William Proxmire of Wisconsin, Philip A. Hart of Michigan and Gale McGee of Wyoming.

Among the liberal Governors elected with labor support were Stephen L. R. McNichols in Colorado, Abraham Ribicoff in Connecticut, Michael V. DiSalle in Ohio and Gaylord A. Nelson in Wisconsin.

Labor-supported Senatorial candidates who went down to defeat included Ernest W. McFarland of Arizona, Frank Hogan of New York and George M. Leader of Pennsylvania.

Five States Reject Anti-Unionism

EFFORTS to shackle working people were buried under an avalanche of votes as anti-labor "right to work" proposals were rejected last month in five of the six states where they were on the ballot.

Near-record voter turnouts defeated the compulsory open shop measures in California, Ohio, Colorado, Idaho and Washington. Only in Kansas did the vicious "work" proposal carry.

The crushing defeat handed the anti-labor proposals, particularly in heavily industrialized Ohio and California, indicated that the weakening of unions and a return to the low wages and health-wrecking working conditions that prevailed in an earlier period are not very appealing to discerning citizens.

Ohio voters rejected "right to work" by nearly 2 to 1. In Washington and California the margin was 5 to 3. Colorado voters whipped "work" by 3 to 2. The measure was beaten by about 5,000 votes in Idaho.

Kansas approved the compulsory open shop by a majority of more than 70,000 votes.

Down to defeat with misnamed "right to work" went top Republican candidates who had campaigned in favor of the anti-labor proposals.

Senator William F. Knowland, who had campaigned for California's governorship almost exclusively on an anti-labor platform, was trounced by Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. Mr. Knowland had hoped to make the governor's mansion a stepping stone to his party's presidential nomination.

In Ohio, Governor C. William O'Neill and Senator John Bricker, both of whom embraced the "right to work" issue in the closing days of the campaign, were swept out of office.

"Right to work" had echoes in the Senatorial campaign in Indiana, where the proposal became law in 1957. Governor Harold W. Handley who allowed the "wreck" bill to become law without his signature, was drubbed in his effort to win the seat vacated by Senator William Jenner.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, meeting in Washington two days after the elections, issued a statement in regard to the "right to work" tests. The leaders of united labor said:

"The voters in five states resoundingly defeated the so-called 'right to work' law, demonstrating their belief in free trade unions and free collective bargaining. In these elections the labor movement had the staunch support of countless Americans of good will, who believe as we do that destruction of the labor movement would do irreparable damage to one of the bulwarks of democracy.

"Our sincere thanks go to each of these friends of labor. We especially thank those citizens of all shades of political thought who joined with organized labor to defeat these evil anti-union proposals. We assure the voters who defeated these proposals that their confidence in the basic integrity of American trade unions will never be regretted."



Senator Knowland (left) thought anti-unionism would win him a flock of votes in his bid for California's governorship. But he was wrong. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown (right), who was backed by labor, trounced him.

Ohio rejected "right to work." Here Ohio AFL-CIO's Phil Hannah lashes compulsory open shop at rally before citizens balloted.



New Senator from Indiana is Vance Hartke. He clobbered reactionary Governor Handley.

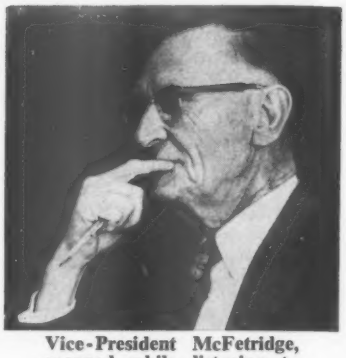


AFL-CIO LEADERS LOOK TO '59



President Meany wielded gavel at Council meeting.

Executive Council asks new Congress to come through with 'bold forward steps for the welfare of America'



Vice-President McFetridge, snapped while listening to discussion of 1959 program.

THE AFL-CIO Executive Council, meeting after the November elections, called on the new Eighty-sixth Congress to "give the people the program for which they have voted." That program, the Council said, includes top priority for passage of constructive anti-corruption legislation, an overhaul of the Taft-Hartley Act and broad progress on the social welfare front.

"The time is ripe," the Council asserted, "for bold forward steps for the welfare of America."

Meeting in Washington, the AFL-CIO's leaders read the election results as a repudiation of those "political leaders who have little faith in the dynamic character of the American economy" and of cynical attempts to "beguile the American public into believing that the problem of corruption could be met only by legislation designed to destroy the trade union movement."

On the defeat of the "right to work" proposals in five out of six states, the Executive Council declared that "the voters' emphatic repudiation of these laws is a clear mandate to the Congress to end this flank attack on labor."

It emphasized the need especially for attention to two major problems in the labor-management relations area. The Council called for:

▶Legislation to root out corruption in labor-management relations, patterned along the lines of the Kennedy-Ives bill, but omitting "certain unduly restrictive and unworkable sections written in haste on the floor of





Above—Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler (left) and Vice-President Carey are standing. In his seat and looking on is Vice-President Dubinsky. In the other picture are Vice-President Reuther, head of Auto Workers, and Vice-President Raftery.

the Senate in response to political pressure."

▶General revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, with particular attention to Section 14-b, the section that permits states to enact "right to work" laws.

The Council authorized, and President George Meany appointed, a special committee of Council members "to devote itself immediately to the problem of securing this necessary, constructive legislation." The committee will be composed of Mr. Meany as chairman and AFL-CIO Vice-Presidents Walter P. Reuther, A. J. Hayes and George M. Harrison.

Mr. Meany told reporters that he hoped labor would be able to work out a bill "agreeable" to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, although the Secretary, "wittingly or unwittingly," spoke for the opponents of legislation at the last session of Congress.



Seated at left is Vice-President Suffridge. The men standing are Vice-President Feller (in the light suit) and Vice-President Minton.

IN ADDITION to the pressing problem of corrective labor legislation, the Council laid down a ten-point program based in part on the unfinished business of the Eighty-fifth Congress. The program, the Council noted, "contains only some of the major legislative areas in which action is long overdue."

It includes aid to depressed areas, public works loans, federal aid to education for school construction and teachers' salaries, medical care for social security recipients, river basin development and self-financing for TVA, increasing the minimum hourly wage to $1.25 and extending it to millions now unprotected, modernization of unemployment compensation and creation of new federal standards, increased retirement and jobless benefits for railroad workers, a comprehensive housing program, farm legislation to aid working farm families, and providing America with an adequate defense program.

The Council adopted a separate statement calling for a broadening of existing civil rights legislation, amendment of Senate Rule 22 to end filibusters and enforcement at all levels of existing laws to put an end to the acts of violence that have been reported across the nation.

To the voters in the five states—California, Ohio, Washington, Colorado and Idaho—where "right to work" proposals were rejected, the Executive Council expressed "sincere thanks" for believing "as we do that destruction of the labor movement would do irreparable damage to one of the bulwarks of democracy."

At two press conferences President Meany told reporters:

▶Three AFL-CIO unions—the Meat Cutters, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and the Operating Engineers—have made "considerable progress" in moving into full compliance with the ethical practices codes in light of revelations made before the McClellan Committee.

▶The United Textile Workers and the Distillery Workers, which are currently under probation and supervision of an AFL-CIO monitor, are now being run in a satisfactory way, but the monitorships will be continued for the time being.

▶In the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and its president, Maurice A. Hutcheson, Mr. Meany said the Council had extended a new invitation and was willing to hold a special meeting at a week's notice to accommodate Mr. Hutcheson. Mr. Meany stressed that the Council wanted Mr. Hutcheson to have a chance to appear personally.

▶The "bugaboo of inflation" should not be used to "stop the forward progress" of the American people. While inflation is a question of some concern, Mr. Meany said, he did not share President Eisenhower's "terrific fear." Specifically, the AFL-CIO's president declared, national defense expenditures should not be cut because of inflation worries.

▶A report by Director of Organization John W. Livingston, reporting unions winning 68 per cent of NLRB elections, shows that workers and the people generally were taking a calm, mature look at revelations before the McClellan Committee and deciding that the evidence of corruption in some unions does not constitute an indictment of the entire trade union movement.

▶Every AFL-CIO organization with an agreement with the expelled Teamsters Union led by James R. Hoffa has canceled the agreement or scheduled meetings to do so.

▶Nelson Rockefeller, governor-elect of New York, has a "progressive and liberal viewpoint" and his previous record in government has been a good one. Mr. Rockefeller's victory, in view of labor's support for Governor Averell Harriman, said Mr. Meany, indicated that unions do not control the votes of their members, although the endorsement would have had more meaning to union members in New York if there had been a contest between a liberal candidate and an ultra-conservative.

The Executive Council pledged the cooperation of the AFL-CIO in developing and maintaining a national blood bank program.

The next meeting of the Executive Council will be held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, beginning February 16, in response to a cordial invitation extended to the AFL-CIO by Governor Luis Munoz Marin.

Venezuela Needs *Strong, Free Unions*

By HARRY W. FLANNERY



HARRY W. FLANNERY

VENEZUELA, country of fantastic wealth and miserable poverty, stands nervously tense on the brink of her future. Somehow, some way, political stability and economic justice must be attained. Major means can be strong, free trade unions.

The trade unions were principally responsible for shaking off the ten-year-long dictatorship early this year. The union's general strike, a vocal church and an aroused public finally ousted General Marcos Perez Jimenez, known in Venezuela as "P.J."

Since his overthrow, a junta representing all political parties has been caretaker for the government and a United Labor Committee, again including all parties, has been marking time for the trade unions.

Some action has been taken in the trade unions. Some of the top leaders, including Communists, installed by Perez Jimenez have either disappeared or been expelled. A portion of the millions in union funds seized by the dictatorship has been recovered. Other union funds, including social benefits accumulated by fired workers and not paid, are being checked.

The Oil Workers Union (the Confederacion de Trabajadores Petroleros), largest in the country, held in August its first convention since the downfall of the dictator and renamed Luis Tovar as secretary general and Angel Brava as secretary-treasurer. Both of them had been jailed.

The convention, meeting at national labor headquarters in Caracas, applauded Adrian Vermuellen of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization for having dared to ask for trade union freedom at an ILO petroleum meeting held in the same city three years ago. The Oil Workers set up an executive committee of seven members—four members of Democratic Action, one of the Democratic Republican Union, one of COPEI (the Social Christian Party) and one Communist.

Communists continue to be treated in Venezuela as if they were members of a political party and not agents of a foreign power. Gustavo Machado, head of the Communist Party in Venezuela, was given equal position with representatives of COPEI, Democratic Action and the URD (Democratic Republican Union) Party when the Venezuelan newspapermen held their recent convention in Caracas, which I attended. He was given equal time at the microphone and was applauded just as heartily as the other speakers.

Machado is disarming in appearance, looking perhaps more like a successful businessman than any of his fellows on the platform. He talks calmly. In contrast, Jovito Villalba, the present head of the Democratic Republican Union, speaks with much oratorical emotion.

The graying Villalba, a smartly dressed, slender man, was the fiery young student who in 1928 made a

Tall buildings in this view of downtown Caracas house federal offices.



violent attack on another dictatorship, that of General Juan Vicente Gomez, and started its overthrow.

Communist influence continues in the Port Workers Union, the Garment Workers, the Newspaper Writers and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Caracas. The Communists also have posts of importance in radio and education, especially in the journalism department at the Central University in Caracas.

Communist placards, urging "Vote Red," seem even more numerous than those of URD, crying "Vote Yellow," of COPEI, asking a green vote, and of Democratic Action, telling voters to put white cards into the ballot boxes.

The three main political parties attempted to agree on a unity candidate. They agreed to collaborate with whoever wins and help carry out economic and social reforms on which they are in accord.

During the dictatorship, the Communists gained power and influence. Perez Jimenez expelled or imprisoned the other political leaders, including those of Democratic Action, such as Romulo Betancourt, and COPEI, such as Rafael Caldera, but took no action against the Communists. The result was that the Communists were able to gain power and influence far beyond their numbers.

Communist voting strength in Venezuela is estimated to be between 100,000 and 200,000. With three candidates in the presidential race, the Communist vote can be decisive.

The Communists have announced their support of Rear Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal, and he has officially accepted their backing because, as he has put it, "the Communists, too, are Venezuelans." He was head of the ruling junta until he started campaigning for the top office.

Admiral Larrazabal says he himself is not a Communist. He is a Catholic, he asserts, and "a liberal democrat."

In the final weeks before the election the Archbishop of Caracas, Msgr. Rafael Aria Blanco, the ranking representative of the Catholic Church in the country, issued a warning to Catholics not to vote Communist. The letter was published in the Caracas daily newspaper, *La Religion*, and was read in all Venezuelan pulpits.

The Archbishop's statement said the Church would not interfere in politics in the country beyond attacking communism and the Communist Party. The Church will not attack any non-Communist who is supported by the party if such support is without the candidate's authorization.



One of the forest of oil wells on Lake Maracaibo.

The Catholic Church, it should be noted, was active in the overthrow of Perez Jimenez. Four priests, including the editor of *La Religion*, had been jailed by him just before he was ousted. Last year a pastoral letter criticized the lack of liberties and the poor living conditions in Venezuela.

VENEZUELA offers the Communists an unusual opportunity, since the oil which gives the country its great wealth and revenue is also the cause of an inflation which makes everything that Venezuela produces more costly than competing goods coming in from abroad.

It is cheaper for Venezuela to buy food, building materials, furniture, household appliances and luxuries abroad than to make them at home. It costs more for a person to live in Caracas than in Paris, which has the reputation of being the most expensive city in Europe.

The result is that, although the wealthy of Caracas drive gleaming big automobiles, the poor find it almost impossible to exist. The trade unions offer the main means of helping the Venezuelan people to attain some semblance of economic equity.

A law which requires that 75 per cent of the employes in an enterprise be Venezuelans has led to the founding of engineering schools by Creole Oil and Shell Oil. I saw the Shell school at Cabimas, on Lake Maracaibo, a clean, modern group of offices, classrooms, library and shops. Four hundred young students there study electrical, mechanical and radio engineering and transportation.

I don't know much about such shops, but they appeared to me to be most complete. The models, full size and miniature, of trucks, gears, steering mechanisms and engines impressed me.

Venezuela will have more skilled workmen because of such schools. The graduates are not required to remain with the company sponsors.

Venezuela needs to develop diversified industry. Exploitation of Cerro Bolivar, a mountain 62 per cent iron, will bring more millions of royalties into the Venezuelan territory and help keep taxes purely nominal, but it is not, of course, the answer.

The Montana Paint Company, just erected outside Caracas, is a hopeful development. Although not aided by a protective tariff, the operators expect to be able to produce good paint at a lower price than foreign plants. They claim that they have more orders than they can fill and say they hope to supply all South America. A market for paint certainly exists. Every building, no matter what its size or pretensions, is painted in brilliant pastels.

Two Czechoslovakian refugees are running the paint factory. A Yugoslav is plant manager. Unable to use their skills freely behind the Iron Curtain, these refugees have come to

a land of real opportunity. Foreigners began to migrate to Venezuela when Romulo Betancourt of Democratic Action was President, prior to Perez Jimenez.

Democratic Action opened Venezuela's doors to Europe's displaced perosons and refugees—Czechs, Yugoslavs, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Hungarians and Portuguese. They have been coming in since 1946.

A Shell guide at Cabinas was a Hungarian. In Caracas the girls on the newsstand at the Hotel Tamanaco were German. Headwaiters in the hotel's coffee shop were Italian and Yugoslav.

Caracas gives an impression of wealth and elegance. One of the colorful worker apartment buildings, erected by the government, stands on the edge of the airport. You travel a splendid divided highway that pierces the mountains as you roll into Caracas, and you may arrive at a time of day when the traffic jams are worse than those encountered in New York at the rush hour.

The picture is dazzling if you stay on the tourist route, but wander off into side streets and you'll see some of the most miserable slums in the world. Go into Maracaibo and you'll see one of the world's most expensive hotels—but you'll also see plenty of shacks. You can soar on a cable car over the treetops to tall, splendid Hotel Humboldt, 7,025 feet above sea level—but you can also wander down into humid, forgotten jungles.

Venezuela is a country of rich opportunity but one also of concern. Along with also recently freed Argentina, Venezuela can show the way for Latin American democracy and responsible trade unionism. Or it can be the scene of new disorder and renewed dictatorship.

This is a crucial period in Venezuela. Next important date is that for the elections, December 7.

How Do You Use Your Money?

By JOHN J. MARA
President, Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO

WHEN we speak of "purchasing power," we do not mean going out and trying to buy power by the corrupt use of money or anything like that. What we have in mind is simply the proper use of the purchasing power that we, as members of the American labor movement, now possess—using this power in such a way that we benefit ourselves, our movement and future generations.

Some of us find it easy to criticize employers. Some of us feel that the best of them are often poor managers of their own businesses. At times this criticism may be fully justified. But we certainly must take our hats off to most employers on one very important score. Employers, when they make their purchases, usually are careful to buy for the best economic interests of their own enterprises. It is a rare employer indeed who will knowingly buy anything that is to the disadvantage of his business or himself.

Of course, an occasional employer may do such a foolish thing, but most of them are always on guard against such conduct. On the other hand, wage-earners are doing just that foolish thing all the time.

Some of us are probably right in voicing criticisms of employers with whose operations we are acquainted and in looking upon them as poor managers of their business undertakings, but it is unfortunately true that when the wage-earner himself assumes the position of "employer"—as he does, in effect, whenever he is spending his hard-earned wages—he is often quite thoughtless about how he performs this vital function.

IF A union worker who bought a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes or any other article without the union label had his wages reduced 10 per cent every time he did that, and if he knew that he himself suffered directly and immediately whenever he spent his union wages for non-union products or services, then very likely he would acquire a better conception of the influence that his buying power has upon his wages and working conditions.

The connection between the two is not obvious to many wage-earners, but the connection is there just the same.

If a shoe worker or building tradesman is thoughtless and buys a non-union suit of clothes, he is depriving some union tailor of an opportunity to earn a decent living and to buy union label articles for himself and his family.

On the other hand, if the shoe worker or the building mechanic realizes his responsibility and makes it his business to purchase a suit that has the union label, he is not only getting a superior suit but at the same time he is making it possible for the union tailor to have a job and buy products which carry the union label.

It has been said by some people that the power to purchase is more deadly than the vote, for the purchase is more certain in its effect and opportunities for exercising the power to buy are far more numerous.

Instead of voting once a year or once every two years, we buy something every day in the year, and usually we buy several items every day. It is not unreasonable to say that the wage-earner who is careful to give his patronage to union label products and services, who in his capacity as "employer" will employ none but union labor, is "voting" for union wages and union working conditions thousands of times a year.

A correct use of one's purchasing power means the casting of one's influence eternally for unionism and decency, for broader and better lives for all who labor and for all who are dependent upon those who labor, for better wages and better working conditions, for better homes, for better education for our children, for more intelligent and more prosperous generations to come, with peace, progress and prosperity for all humanity.

A review of
"THE DOCTOR BUSINESS,"
a new book by
RICHARD CARTER



Why shouldn't everyone be completely protected against the costs of illness and poor health?

This Doctor Business

By LISBETH BAMBERGER
Assistant Director,
AFL-CIO Social Security Department

"ANY experienced general practitioner will agree that what keeps the great majority of people well is the fact that they can't afford to be ill. This is a harsh, stern dictum, and we readily admit that under it a certain number of cases of early tuberculosis and cancer, for example, may go undetected.

"Is it not better that a few such should perish rather than that the majority of the population should be encouraged on every occasion to run sniveling to the doctor?"

New York State Journal of Medicine, August 15, 1949.

"I AM writing to see if there is any chance of my getting any hospital aid. I started in the coal mines at the age of fifteen. On May 18, 1933, I received a broken back in a slate fall that killed my buddy. Both my feet are paralyzed.

"If you can help me in any way at all, I would like to hear from you. I suffer every day in the world."

Letter to a newly established welfare fund, 1949.

"WHAT does 'illness' mean? Cowardice, malingering, laziness, maladaptation, cussedness, pure worthlessness. * * * It is time that someone — everyone — should hoist Mr. Charles Darwin from his grave and blow life into his ashes so that they could proclaim again to the world his tough but practical doctrine of the survival of the fittest. * * *

"The Declaration of Independence said that man was entitled to the 'pursuit of happiness.' Any man who wishes to pursue happiness had better be able to stand on his own feet. He will not be successful if he feels that he can afford to be ill."

New York State Journal of Medicine, September 15, 1949.

THIS is the stuff of which "The Doctor Business" is made. Not until the publication of this book has the conflict between what Mr. Carter calls the "dollar policies" of organized medicine and the need for better medical care for the people of this country been clearly exposed for careful scrutiny by the American public.

Mr. Carter offers convincing evidence that the organization and financing of medical care are "so far behind the times that they have actually become a deterrent to health." He demonstrates how this inadequate system has been "perpetuated by an unduly powerful confederation of medical societies" headed by the American Medical Association.

"The Doctor Business" is brilliant and well-documented. It is frankly partisan. Partisan, that is, if siding with the patient and with health can be so termed.

The author also sides with the individual physician ("by preference he is a dedicated scientist and a devoted healer"), suggesting that "his need for relief from the power of organized medicine is as great as the

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THE DOCTOR BUSINESS. *By Richard Carter. Doubleday. 283 pages. $4.*



Progress of medical science has been tremendous, the author points out. Unfortunately, today's complex medical care is appallingly expensive.

public's." Mr. Carter makes an eloquent plea for such relief, maintaining that organized medicine has had its way because of an "unconscionable public abdication of authority."

His challenge is that "there is nothing wrong with the cost and quality of American medical care that cannot be improved by consumer assumption of responsibility of the terms and conditions under which consumer health is maintained."

MR. CARTER traces the progress that has been made in medical science, showing how medical care has become concomitantly more complex and appallingly expensive. He tells of a form of organizing and financing medical care that seems to him to be in conformity with modern needs —group payment coupled with group medical practice.

"Instead of having to trot all over town from family physician to specialist to X-ray man to laboratory to Lord-knows-where, paying a separate and uncontrollable fee at every stop," he writes, "the patient goes to one place where his health is comprehensively managed by physicians who patrol each other's performance. And there are rarely extra fees."

Mr. Carter does not insist on prepaid group practice as a flawless panacea. But, as he states quite correctly, "its occasional defects are more amenable to public repair than are the evils of solo, fee-for-service practice." The crux of the matter is, of course, that under plans of this kind the financial incentives operate in harmony with the patient's health needs.

"The physicians do not rely on payments from the sick and have no financial stake in sickness," the author points out. "On the contrary, they have a great stake in health. The patient, having agreed to pay a fixed annual fee that entitles him and his family to complete medical care, no longer has to make a financial decision every time he wonders whether he should see a doctor.

"The physicians, meanwhile, are nagging him to come around whether he feels sick or not. They feel a pressing need to diagnose and arrest the diabetes, the glaucoma, the early tuberculosis, the beginning cancer, the high blood pressure, the arthritis and the hundred and one other conditions which, if allowed to develop unattended, can make a wastefully serious case of him.

"To them serious illness is no longer a source of income but a financial loss. If the illness is one that could have been nipped in the bud by early diagnosis, it is more than a financial loss—it is a professional reproach, an emblem of failure."

This form of health plan seems to make a great deal of sense. But it is not widespread, and wherever in the vast expanse of our country sentiment appears for this form of organization, there is violent opposition from organized medicine. Why?

Why should not every American be completely protected against the costs of illness or poor health?

Why should not every economic barrier to necessary medical care be swiftly and forever eliminated?

Why should not doctors be practicing cooperatively as a team, sharing expensive equipment and ancillary personnel?

Mr. Carter suggests this answer:

"Like most other economic and sociological doctrines of organized medicine, the opposition to full insurance coverage defies normal comprehension unless you bear in mind that it is rooted in the values of commerce.

"At bottom is organized medicine's petrified reluctance to have its fee privileges curtailed. It knows that any program which proposes to guarantee the full medical costs incurred by subscribers is going to have to superintend the physicians' bills.

"Organized medicine spares no effort in undermining such programs and, through its activity in state and federal legislatures as well as its influence over the profession, has been the chief obstacle to their growth."

THE WRITER also sheds some welcome light on the "free choice of physician" issue. "Free choice of physician" has become the password, almost replacing "down with socialized medicine" for entrance into the AMA's grace. At its last convention the AMA House of Delegates voted to undertake an immediate educational campaign to acquaint the American public with the glories of what the AMA calls the fifth freedom—freedom to choose one's own physician.

The author of "The Doctor Business" describes how most of us pick a physician:

"We may ask a relative, a neighbor lady, a druggist, a bellhop or a cab driver. Or we may see a doctor's shingle listing office hours. Or we may look in the yellow pages of the telephone book. Or in cases of supreme sophistication we may phone the local medical society and get undifferentiated names of dues-paying members.

"Persons accustomed to living in smaller cities have been known to look for the professional building, wander into its lobby and search the wall directory for a name that promised the ideal blend of solicitude and diagnostic genius."

This is the right which the Ameri-

can Medical Association is moving heaven and health insurance to protect for the American public. The AMA would have us believe that regimentation and the end of any possibility of a personal relationship between a patient and his doctor are the only alternative to this kind of chaos.

Mr. Carter shows how patently false this contention is. The public can be assisted to make an *informed* choice of physician.

WHAT is true of the Mayo clinic, for example, is true of a health plan whose physicians are carefully selected by persons competent to make a selection. The patient is assured care of high quality because the institution's or the plan's standards are high.

When the subscriber to such a plan chooses his physician from among a group whose qualifications have been conscientiously assessed and passed upon, his choice becomes a meaningful one.

Organized medicine has attempted to deny the American public the opportunity to make that kind of choice.

As Mr. Carter suggests, while organized medicine seems to envision itself as the guardian of the American public's freedom, "protecting a wanton people from the seductions of the planned economy and the welfare state," it actually is "far less interested in our freedom than in its own," as can be seen by "its persistent refusal to concede us our full rights as free consumers in a free society."

Over the years the American Medical Association and its affiliated societies have fought vigorously to deprive the American public of a free choice of health plan. Mr. Carter tells of organized medicine's early opposition to all forms of health insurance until—with the advice of public relations counsel — it embraced those plans established to its specifications.

Other methods of financing and organization which are sensible, efficient, economical and can assure high-quality, humane care have been fought by the medical societies so often that it is frightening to contemplate the human suffering that might never have taken place had organized medicine not been able to wield such enormous power.

Mr. Carter is confident that organized medicine will not retain forever the power it has held in recent decades. He believes that consumers will soon be taking their rightful place in controlling the economics of medical care. He writes:

"Without presuming to tell a single M.D. how to carve a single appendix, the public can upgrade medicine from the bazaar. As the payers of the bills, consumers are in the position to modify the catch-as-catch-can fee system and put medical economics on a rational basis.

"This obviously cannot be done by the individual patient from his sickbed. (It is unnatural to negotiate from a horizontal position and, in any event, it is unseemly to bargain with the man who has just relieved your pain or saved your life.)

"It is a problem for healthy people, a group problem, a community problem and, in many respects, a national problem. It can be solved by consumer organizations in negotiation with groups of physicians or, if necessary, it can be solved by legislation."

Much has already been done along these lines, both by labor and by other groups in the community. The AFL-CIO, at its first consitutional convention three years ago, took action in support of "more extensive, active and meaningful consumer participation" in health affairs. In some areas the labor movement has made a significant impact on how medical care is provided and paid for. What has been accomplished amounts to very little, however, in relation to what needs to be done.

"The Doctor Business," by making possible an increased understanding of the powers and practices of organized medicine, will be of immense help to those who believe that every person in this country deserves to have the very best of modern medical care available to him and who wish to act accordingly.

It is essential reading for every labor union member, officer and staff person who is not content to let those physicians who make up the business end of the doctor business determine the circumstances under which medical care shall be provided.



Chairman Hayes (left) of AFL-CIO's Ethical Practices Committee accepts RLF's Social Justice Award from Dr. Clair M. Cook at Washington dinner.

Ethics Unit Is Honored

THE Social Justice Award of the Religion and Labor Foundation was awarded last month to the AFL-CIO's Ethical Practices Committee. The presentation was made at a dinner in Washington. Albert J. Hayes, chairman of the committee, accepted the award on behalf of the committee.

In its citation the Religion and Labor Foundation described the six codes produced by the committee and adopted by the AFL-CIO as part of its constitution as "unique in the history of private organizations."

What's Happening in China?

By HARRY GOLDBERG

I WONDER if the free world has realized fully, as yet, the grave threat to it posed by the most recent developments inside Communist China. After some initial resistance, which was handled with characteristic Communist repression, the "communeization" of China's half a billion peasants is well on the road to completion, if official claims can be believed.

The Communists' "New China" news agency claimed recently that 90 per cent of the over 100,000,000 peasant families had already been herded into the new communes. Even discounting somewhat, as one must, official claims out of Communist China, there can be no doubt that this latest regimentation program has made enormous strides.

The program was tentatively launched in April of this year. By August 30, only 30 per cent of the peasants were claimed to have entered the new communes. By this time, however, precious few peasants in Communist China remain outside the communes.

The program was launched because the organization of the previous peasant cooperatives (collectives) did not give Mao Tse-tung and his clique that degree of control desired—which was total. From the organizational point of view they now have that. Further, it enables the rulers of Communist China to control the agricultural output more completely.

Under the old farm collective system, whenever there was a particularly large crop the farmers benefited somewhat through sharing what was left after the state had collected its share. In the communes, however, wages have been restored and the workers will be limited to fixed incomes.

The wage system, further, will be used as a form of social pressure—as a club, in fact—for it will be administered, it has been said, on the basis of "to each according to his labor and political attitude." The threat contained here is crystal clear.

But the commune system goes far beyond the more total control merely on the agricultural front. The communes, in addition, will be charged with wiping out the last remnants of private property in production, will develop local industry and trade, will dig roads, ditches, canals, etc.,



HARRY GOLDBERG

and, finally, will train all physically able men in military duties.

The new communes, much vaster in scope and function than the old peasant collectives, have been formed from the merger of the latter in the various provinces. To date it is claimed that over 24,000 of them exist, with the number of peasant families in each of them ranging from 2,000 to 20,000.

They are organized on military lines. *Jenmin Jihpao* ("The People's Daily") of October 1 declared:

"In the people's communes labor is organized along military lines and things are done the way battle duties are carried out, and the people live collectively."

It goes without saying, of course, that Communist Party members hold the key directive positions in these communes.

That this is no euphemism but the stark truth can be seen from the regulations which govern a full-fledged commune, as reported recently by Tillman Durdin, the able Far East expert of the New York *Times*, in his very fine coverage of the "communeization" process:

"Under the regulations for a full-fledged commune * * * peasant households merge their farm collectives into an organization that takes over all collective property as well as the small plots, tools, livestock and fowls the peasants have been permitted to keep individually up to now. Instead of splitting up the income of the collective as heretofore, the peasants go on a fixed wage system.

"Family and individual household living virtually disappears. The commune members eat in central mess halls and live in communal housing. Nurseries take care of their children and the women do full-time work in the fields along with the men.

"All means of production and all labor belong to the commune. It not only farms the large area under its control but builds and manages industries, handles trade and banking, and runs schools, irrigation systems, hospitals, posts and the telegraph.

"The managements of the township and the commune become one and the same. The organization is along military lines, and the communes arm and incorporate able-bodied persons into the militia.

"Wages can be cut or bonuses given in accordance with the work enthusiasm of the members. Labor groups can be shifted from farm to factory or to distant construction projects whenever the commune directors will.

"The communes will be under tight Communist Party rule and operate within the framework of overall policies and plans laid down in Peiping."

Why was the seemingly sudden shift from farm collectives to these more all-embracing communes decided on by the leaders of Communist China? Aside from the more abso-

lute organizational control it allows—which is always in order for a totalitarian regime—the answer would seem to lie in the obsession for rapid industrialization.

That Communist China has made substantial industrial strides recently is undoubted. But the ambitious productive norms announced for the near future—especially in heavy industry—have the most knowledgeable experts in the field shaking their heads skeptically.

THERE seems, for instance, to be a severe transport crisis. There is a marked inability to move to points where they are needed the added goods that have been created with the increase in industrial production.

With all the fanfare accompanying Red China's boasts of its tremendous industrial development, it is worthy of note that, at the beginning of 1958, there were only about 18,000 miles of track in all of China, with over 40 per cent of that in Manchuria alone. This means that in the huge expanse of China, outside Manchuria, there are only about 10,000 miles of track. Compare this with the 220,000 miles of track in the United States.

This great inadequacy of Communist China's main transportation link is further compounded by the lack of decent highways and other roads which are even more inadequate than the railroads.

Even more serious than the transportation crisis is the great strain that is apparent in the effort to raise steel production to the norm announced, over 10,000,000 metric tons—double (in one year, no less!) last year's output. Ambition here seems to be way ahead of possible realization.

It is for this basic reason, therefore, that the leaders of Communist China are attempting the complete mobilization of their huge manpower surplus to make up for their great lack not only of modern machinery but, more often than not, of any machinery at all except of the most primitive kind. Po I-po, chairman of the State Economic Board, has claimed that about 100,000,000 people have been working at steel production alone, with most of the effort being concentrated on producing pig iron at 350,000 hastily constructed primitive blast furnaces all over Communist China.

Tens of millions of women, further, have been "freed" from their household tasks to become part of the labor battalions that are digging the ditches, canals, roads, etc., with these battalions in veritable military formation and under military discipline.

Nothing is allowed to stand in the way of this total regimentation effort, neither human considerations nor respect for the traditional values of Chinese civilization.

The family, which for centuries has been the respected, almost hallowed, unit of social organization, around which has revolved much of the basic rules of ethical behavior, is swiftly crumbling into a mere museum piece. Individual homes are being rapidly eliminated; its members live in communal houses; mothers work full time and children are left in nurseries.

Aged members of the family, heretofore held in special veneration, are being sent to old-age homes, where they must grow their own food and, more often than not, are completely separated from their relatives.

Family members often work in different places, and the younger ones are being sent to distant provinces. Ancestral graveyards are being razed and remains of the dead are moved to common pits, dug deep so that the earth above them can be cultivated. But enough!

This, then, is the new communeization system. It is complete regimentation of every aspect of life and living.

Soviet Russia never had anything approaching it; the Kremlin leaders never dared to go so far. But Mao Tse-tung has dared. It is both monstrous and frightening. Even the Communists in the European satellite countries, especially in East Germany, it is reported, have looked at this image of their own future and are uneasy.

Let there be no doubt about one thing. This totally regimented slave society inside China is no end in itself for the Communist masters of the country. They are looking beyond their own borders. The consolidation of their control based upon the harnessing to their totalitarian chariot wheel of the limitless manpower of China gives them the lever to thrust out into the international arena. The society which they are molding inside China is for them a piece of merchandise for export.

Let us have no illusions about this. Communism by its very nature is dynamic, aggressive, *expansive*. The Chinese Communists themselves have made this clear repeatedly in their own pronouncements, and one of the most melancholy phenomena of our age is the refusal of so many good-hearted people to believe it.

For outside consumption, especially in the neutralist countries of Asia, Peiping will pretend to adhere to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual non-interference adopted by the 1955 Afro-Asian Conference held at Bandung in which Red China participated.

But such pretended belief in the principles of non-interference didn't prevent Communist China's rape of Tibet nor its heaping abuse upon Nehru when he protested this forceful taking over of a country which interfered with nobody and had been let alone for so long a time.

RED CHINA'S real belief about neutralism was indicated long ago, in 1940, when Mao Tse-tung said:

"In the world from now on, neutrality is only a term for deceiving people." *

If it be protested that this was long before the Bandung Conference and that Mao Tse-tung has since changed his line, let me quote for such naive souls from the *Chinese Youth Journal* of August 8, 1957, written more than two years after the conference:

"There is definitely no such thing as the transcendental Third Course (*i.e.*, Third Camp neutralism—H.G.). * * * In the domain of politics and ideology *it is either the easterly wind getting the upper hand over the westerly wind or vice versa. Peaceful coexistence and mutual non-interference are impossible.* (My emphasis—H.G.)

If the free world willfully remains complacent in refusing to recognize these as the *real* intentions of the Chinese Communists, it will merely be hastening its own doom.

In their *(Continued on Page 30)*

* Quoted from Richard L. Walker, "Communist China, Power and Prospect," in special *New Leader* issue of October 20. This issue cannot be recommended too highly. I recommend it especially to those good souls who stubbornly refuse to believe Red China's evil intentions. All future quotations also from this article.

Are There Limits to Collective Bargaining?

By NAT GOLDFINGER

ONE often hears this question: What are the limits of collective bargaining? Sometimes the question is phrased this way: Are there any limits to collective bargaining?

I believe that there are limits to collective bargaining. I also believe that there are management prerogatives. But the limitations and prerogatives cannot and should not be defined as if they were established principles for all time.

The reason for this is that labor-management relations are social relationships in a changing world. The prerogatives and limitations of yesterday may be modified or eliminated tomorrow or the next day.

The limitations of collective bargaining and the prerogatives of management can be examined and discussed intelligently only in the specific context of a specific time, place, industry and labor-management relationship.

What is a prerogative in the abstract? Or a limitation in the abstract? Webster tells us that a prerogative is "a right to exercise a power or privilege in priority to or to the exclusion of others, * * * a right attached to an office or rank."

The feudal lords had the prerogative of the first night. They did not like to give it up. But there is no such prerogative today.

A little over a generation ago some garment manufacturers in New York City believed that they had the prerogative to keep their employes working behind bolted doors. Then came the Triangle fire. Not too long ago employers felt that they had the prerogative to determine unilaterally whether conditions in their workplaces were sanitary and safe. These prerogatives are gone.

The dictionary says that a limit is "a boundary or boundary line, * * * that which circumscribes or confines." Can we intelligently discuss the limits of collective bargaining in a vacuum?

Fifty years ago the overwhelming number of employers believed that they had the right to set wages, hours and working conditions, unilaterally, without any interference from their employes or the government. Today employers bargain with unions of their employes, not only on wages and hours but also on vacations, holidays, medical insurance and pensions.

THE world changes, and with those changes there are shifts in social relationships. Limitations and prerogatives of a generation ago in the area of labor-management relations have changed considerably. They are changing at present.

We may place social or ethical judgments on these changes, but it is clear that current limitations and prerogatives should not be viewed as if they were valid for all time.

I think that an attempt to set up clearly defined rules and principles on limitations and prerogatives in labor-management relations is a potential danger to industrial peace.

What happens when hard-and-fast rules are set, supposedly for all time? One party says, in effect, these areas are mine and those areas are the other fellow's—and that's the way it's going to be forever. But in a world of economic, social and technological changes, the rules and regulations that were to have endured for all time may go unchallenged for only a couple of years or a decade.

It is like putting a chip on your shoulder and saying, "I dare you to touch it." If followed to the logical conclusion, in a changing economy and society, it means that one party is going to win all and the other party is going to lose all—at least on specific issues.



Our old world keeps changing, and that is why it is foolish to attempt to lay down rules and regulations that will endure to the end of time. What must be remembered is that labor and employer must live together.

This kind of attitude and procedure makes no sense in labor-management relations, just as it makes no sense in domestic relations. The union and the employer live together. There are disputes, even tough fights, at times. But the continuing relationship is more important to the employer and the union—as it is to husband and wife—than is the complete victory of one over the other.

A collective bargaining contract sets up agreed-upon rules for a period of time. The agreement between the parties is rarely, if ever, ideal. In labor-management relations there are *workable* solutions, acceptable to the parties at the time the agreements are negotiated—workable solutions to specific, concrete problems.

Experience during the life of a contract may prove the solutions to be unsatisfactory in part. Or technology may produce significant changes in employment, job content, wage relationships, etc.

In a sensible labor-management relationship the parties attempt to arrive at accommodations and adjustments during the life of the agreement and attempt to work out new workable solutions in the new agreement.

ALMOST a decade ago Harry Shulman and Neil Chamberlain put it this way:

"Collective bargaining involves, first, the negotiation of a general agreement as to terms and conditions of employment, and, second, the maintenance of the parties' relations for the period of the agreement.

"The first process is the dramatic one which catches the public eye and which is sometimes mistaken to be the entire function of collective bargaining. But in fact it is to labor relations approximately what the wedding is to domestic relations. It launches the parties on their joint enterprise with good wishes and good intentions. The life of the enterprise then depends on continuous, daily cooperation and adjustment."

Let us be wary of setting up abstract rules and hard-and-fast limitations and prerogatives. To do so is neither realistic nor helpful. It may be dangerous. Let us not box ourselves in by trying to box in the other fellow. There are disagreements, some of them on important issues, but labor and employer must live together. Let us try to seek workable solutions to concrete problems.

What are labor's goals? Some years ago George Meany defined the goals of American trade unionism as follows:

"Our goals as trade unionists are modest, for we do not seek to recast American society in any particular doctrinaire or ideological image.

"We seek an ever-rising standard of living. Sam Gompers once put the matter succinctly. When asked what the labor movement wanted, he answered: 'More.' If by a better standard of living we mean not only more money but more leisure and a richer cultural life, the answer remains: 'More.'"

This definition of broad and expanding trade union goals is one that I believe is accepted by all groups in organized labor. The goal is *more*—more purchasing power, more leisure, an ever-rising standard of living, a richer cultural life.

IMPLICIT in this statement of organized labor's goals is an acceptance of changing technology. American trade unions do not want to halt the advance of technology that helps to make possible continuing improvements in living conditions.

Implicit, too, is that American trade unions do not want to take over the basic duties of management—managing the enterprise for the purpose of producing, distributing and selling goods or services profitably. This has been a traditional attitude of American organized labor.

While American unions supported the attempt of the West German trade union movement, in the context of the postwar German social, political and economic environment, to obtain codetermination (worker representation on corporation boards), the American unions made it clear at the time that they were not advocating codetermination for the United States.

The goals of American trade unions, as they have developed since the 1880s, are not revolutionary and are not based on an ideology. The unions do not propose that wage and salary earners concentrate their efforts and attentions on the supposed glories of a tomorrow identified with socialism or other ideology of radical change in the economic and social order.

Labor's goals are pragmatic, practical, related to the here and now. American trade unionism proposes that wage and salary earners and their unions move on, from day to day, toward achieving "more."

This simple and practical view is an expanding one. In the 1880s and 1890s—in a society that was much less complex and whose trade unions were relatively weak—"more" meant, for the most part, wage increases and the eight-hour day. At present "more" includes adjustments to technological change.

This pragmatic view has been of benefit to American society. It has likewise been a continuing and practical prodding force on management to pay high wages, to improve working conditions and the standard of living, to maintain efficient operations.

Had we developed a form of trade unionism that concentrated on ideology, the atmosphere might have been more tense, but the improvements in wages, working conditions and fringe benefits probably would have been of smaller magnitude. To emphasize strawberries and cream tomorrow brings little improvement in working and living conditions today.

The practical attitude of American trade unionism does not challenge the basic underpinning of our society, but it does present challenges to current business costs and to what management, at any particular time, may consider its prerogatives.

THE method of collective bargaining—decision-making through the give and take between unions and management—has been and is labor's choice of major means for achieving its goals. It is in this economic area that wage and salary earners, through their unions, have the actual or potential power to bring about joint labor-management decision-making on the employment relationship, rather than unilateral management actions.

Legislative and political action has always had a place of importance in union activities, and this area has grown since the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. Here, too, the organized labor attitude is based on practical considerations and practical issues, instead of ideologies.

Where the employes have not had a union, the very formation of a union is considered a challenge by the employer. The reason for his reaction is obvious. The employer prefers to make unilateral decisions.

The appearance of a union in an

establishment means that, if the union is successful, it will demand a voice in decision-making concerning wages, hours, working conditions and the general employment relationship. And the union's demands will be backed up by the organized power of the employes.

Of course, the employer receives valuable things in return, such as orderly procedures concerning the employment relationship and an organized self-discipline within the employe group. Nevertheless, for many employers the act of relinquishing unilateral monopoly rights of decision-making in the area of the employment relationship is quite painful.



Unionism has established itself in most key parts of the economy. The managements of most major and many minor enterprises in the nation have recognized unions.

It wasn't love at first sight. It probably hasn't been love at any time, although often enough there has been and is understanding. Somehow the parties have been brought together—at times with the government, through the law, the National Labor Relations Board, other agencies and the courts, as a factor in assuring that both parties say, "I do."

In almost all cases the parties live together forever after—adjusting, disputing, cooperating, compromising, accommodating. In a surprising number of cases the parties do not know how they could possibly ever again live apart. And in most cases they come to respect each other and cooperate with each other. But it's not an easy process and it is still relatively new—less than a generation old in most instances.

ONE of the difficulties is that the labor-management relationship is a living thing and involves human beings. There are changes, and the changes create new forms of disagreements that have to be resolved. The rules and regulations are not fixed for all time, although there are traditional patterns and a body of precedents.

Look at the way organized labor's goal of "more" has changed with the passing decades since the 1880s.

AFL-CIO President Meany has put it this way:

"Where once it [collective bargaining] included largely wages, hours and maintenance of health and safety conditions, and, later, hiring, firing and promotion, it now includes medical care, pensions and the like. Today labor is beginning to question the unilateral right of management to set production standards and even to stipulate the location of plants." [Mr. Meany had in mind the then recent strike of the United Hatters at Norwalk, Connecticut.]

Organized labor cannot possibly agree in advance to bind its arms and legs—to agree to hard-and-fast limitations and prerogatives for all time.

Had the unions done so in the 1390s, they probably would have been blocked from further bargaining on paid vacations and paid holidays. Had the unions done so in the 1930s, they probably would have found it difficult or impossible to bargain on medical insurance and pensions. American unions are too practical to be expected to block possible avenues toward achieving "more" in the years that lie ahead.

An expanding economy makes possible an increasing pie of goods. Business wants to hold on to as much of the pie as possible and to take some more if it can. Wage and salary earners and their unions want to share in the benefits of a growing economy.

This is the heart of collective bargaining and the core of the differences between unions and employers. But it is not only an issue of how to share the pie—in the sense of *how much*. It is likewise an issue of *what form* shall the wage and salary earners' share take—wages, leisure, call-in pay, fringe benefits, pensions, etc.

An expanding economy also means problems—dislocations and disruptions. Businessmen are usually so busy with themselves and the operation of their enterprises that they tend to forget other people's problems.

The rapid technological changes of the past few years have brought all kinds of job disruptions. There have been layoffs, particularly in manufacturing, railroads and mining. There have been changes in job content and skill requirements.

There has been a good deal of change in plant location. Many old plants in the old industrial centers have shut down. New plants have been built, frequently hundreds of miles away. Entire departments in older plants have often been eliminated and sometimes their operations have been moved to new plants in new locations. Entire industries appear to be in sharp decline, as new products and new production processes take over and the large, integrated firms absorb the operations of their former suppliers.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, scores of communities and many unions are involved.

Because of these problems many unions are now keenly interested in severance pay, in supplemental unemployment benefits, in reexamining seniority provisions, in trying to obtain from management advance notice about the future installation of new machines and new production methods.

These problems explain why many unions are now studying the 1936 Washington agreement between the railroad unions and companies—an agreement that provides not only for severance pay but also for moving expenses for workers who are required to move in order to hold jobs.

IN THE face of these kinds of issues, unions cannot be expected to foreclose the possibility of developing workable solutions through collective bargaining. It is unreasonable to expect unions to agree in advance to hard-and-fast limitations—to block the avenue of collective bargaining as a means of achieving adjustments to technological change.

Since they cannot foretell the future, unions cannot possibly tell management now what issues they will consider proper subjects of collective bargaining five or ten years or a generation from now.

If strict limitations on collective bargaining were imposed, labor would be forced to seek redress from the federal government and to place increasing emphasis on political and legislative activities.

As I see it, such a development would be the logical move for practical trade unions to take if serious problems of wage and salary earners could not be handled through the give and take of collective bargaining.

Since American unions are pragmatic, such reliance on political and legislative activities would not be

based on ideology but on practical considerations concerning practical problems.

From the viewpoint of organized labor's attitude, practical problems call for practical, workable solutions. Collective bargaining, with a minimum of government interference, is preferable to any other method for arriving at solutions in the labor-management relationship. But if collective bargaining is blocked off, other practical avenues will be sought. To the extent that collective bargaining is strictly limited—and collective bargaining solutions to specific problems are foreclosed—American unions would have to seek solutions from government through political and legislative activities.

We live in a business society—modified by social and economic legislation and by trade unionism. Sixty years ago this was a business society almost pure and simple, with hardly a modification at all.

Right through the 1920s the business community pretty much ruled the roost. The businessman and management executive were kings. Their unilateral decisions on the employment relationship and most other key issues were the law, with very minor limitations, in most parts of the economy.

The situation is somewhat different today. In the past twenty-five years this business society has been modified. There are limitations and modifications. Furthermore, unions are now an integral part of society. The businessman and management executive may be the dominant powers in the society, but they are not the absolute monarchs they once were.

The status quo, in terms of wages, hours, working conditions and the employment relationship, is fine with management—or management may feel that things have already gone much too far. Working people and their unions, on the other hand, look ahead to further improvements. To obtain improvements, labor must make proposals, and the proposals often lead to disagreements and sometimes to serious disputes.

This is the way progress has been made in the United States in recent decades. For example, industry forced unions to fight—and the conflict was bitter—for the eight-hour day. The employers felt that they had a monopolistic right to set working hours unilaterally—and to set them at ten, eleven or twelve hours a day, six days a week.

All too many newspapers and magazines of that period joined with the dominant power of society to tell the public that the eight-hour day was impossible, immoral or both. That was long ago, but not too long ago for millions of our older citizens to remember.

The story has been similar on issue after issue. Fortunately, the disputes have become much less violent. Varying degrees of cooperation now exist. But the improvements have come, almost always, from union demands that have frequently wound up in disagreements and sometimes in strikes.

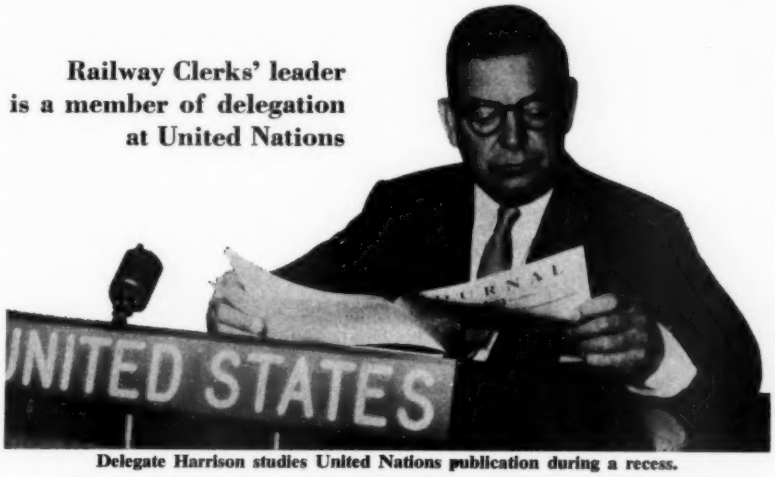
When the record of economic and social improvements of the past half century is examined, it becomes apparent that it has been largely written in the form of union demands, union achievements in collective bargaining and gains through union-supported legislation.

The reason for this is not that unions are pushy. The explanation lies in the employers' record of failing to present positive, practical solutions to people's urgent problems or of responding to them, usually, with very little and much too late.

Of course, there are disagreements between unions and management. There is also cooperation and adjustment. Unions believe that employers and labor should try to work out the disagreements from day to day as best they can—in a rational and sensible manner, rather than on the plane of ideology and warfare.

Harrison Represents U.S.

Railway Clerks' leader is a member of delegation at United Nations



Delegate Harrison studies United Nations publication during a recess.

SERVING as a member of the United States delegation at the current United Nations General Assembly sessions in New York is George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He is the U.S. spokesman in the Assembly's eighty-one-member Special Political Committee.

Mr. Harrison believes that the most important function of the United Nations is to create understanding among the peoples of the world. The U.N., he says, is where the attitudes of other countries can be learned. He is convinced that there is enormous value in knowing what the attitudes of others are—even when those attitudes differ sharply from our own.

Recently Mr. Harrison, in remarks before the Special Political Committee, criticized the racial policies of the Union of South Africa. He said that in the United States "vast progress has been made toward the abolition of discrimination in all branches of human activity."



Here leader of labor chats with U.S. mission adviser (left) and Pierre de Vaucelles of France.

Now They Flee to Grand Bahama

By HARRY H. POLLAK
AFL-CIO Associate Inter-American Representative

RUNAWAY American industries, long accustomed to jump state lines in search of cheap labor, special tax concessions and other benefits, are now eyeing target locations across international boundaries.

The beckoning attraction for their advance scouts is the massive "Freeport" being built on the Grand Bahama Island, a scant 100 miles or so northeast of Miami and a little over seventy-five miles east of Palm Beach. Grand Bahama is one of the 3,000 or more big and little islands that make up the Bahamas chain.

It is about forty minutes by air from Miami or West Palm Beach, and planes make the hop daily.



HARRY H. POLLAK

The "Freeport," more formally known as the Grand Bahama Port Authority, Ltd., together with its 50,000-acre industrial area, is expected —according to its organizers—to alter the economy of the Bahamas radically.

In 1955 the Bahamas Legislature, in the Hawksbill Creek, Grand Bahama (Deep Water Harbor and Industrial Area) Act, provided for the dredging and construction of a deep-water harbor on the Southern coast of the Grand Bahama Island and an industrial-commercial area surrounding it.

What is most intriguing, however, are the extremely generous provisions. There is, for example, a guarantee of thirty years' freedom from taxation of any kind. There is no capital gains tax, no real estate tax, no personal property tax, and for ninety-nine years there would be no excise tax, no custom duties on imports except for personal use and no stamp tax—a total reversal of 1776!

As the Freeport literature states the case, industry would be "unhampered by the tax burdens every government now imposes on the businesses within its jurisdiction."

The Freeport will be an economic enclave and, while not a complete power unto itself, it will have a very large measure of freedom from control by the central government in Nassau. The laws of the central government, we are assured by publicists for the Freeport, have little chance of being violated or "changed." In any case, the ninety-nine-year law cannot be changed except by the consent of every licensee in the port.

While Nassau is to provide police, customs agents, immigration officials and administrative personnel, the Freeport has the sole power to grant licenses to foreign consignors. No building can be constructed, no utility built and, in fact, no business conducted without the Freeport's permission and according to its specification. It will also control its own medical and educational services.

Broad powers are given to the Grand Bahama Port Authority and its licensees to "carry on and engage in all branches any manufacturing, shipbuilding, lumbering, engineering, building construction, contracting, warehousing, storing, assembling, processing, chemical, refining, repairing and servicing business or undertaking, any business or undertaking of storing and supplying petroleum and fuel products and marine supplies, any business or undertaking relating to the exhibition or display of goods and manufactures for sale (including the operation of a 'trade fair'), and any business or undertaking of trucking or transporting passengers and freight, stevedoring and handling of freight within the port area during the continuance of this agreement without having to obtain any permit or license therefor or in respect thereof from government or any department thereof or any licensing authority thereof, any present laws and regulations of the colony and the enactment of future laws or regulations within the colony to the contrary notwithstanding."

Wallace Groves, a wealthy industrialist from the United States, heads up the Port Authority. He is said to have conceived the entire operation. Groves, who controls vital timber operations on the island, is supervising the development of the 50,000 acres. He has interested a number of U.S. corporations, including Remington Rand, United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, a pharmaceutical concern, a wood products firm and others.

One of the principal figures in the development of the area is Daniel K. Ludwig of the National Bulk Carriers of New York. He has been involved in the construction of the harbor. Originally the plans called for a gigantic drydock for the overhauling of tankers, including the *Universal Leader*, the world's largest ship. It was said that facilities for the construc-

tion of supertankers were to be added later.

A year ago when I flew over the Freeport area and visited it on the ground, I was impressed with the amount of work that had been done in changing the shape of the area. Great earth-moving machinery and dredging equipment were everywhere in sight.

A representative of the Freeport has informed me that the harbor facility has now been completed, together with a turning basin for ships, and complete bunkering or refueling arrangements are available. In addition, a number of homes have been constructed for workers and supervisory and executive personnel, and work has been moving forward on a water and electrical system for the manufacturing area.

"Tired" executives are aware of the ideal resort climate of the Bahamas. Winter temperature averages over 70, while the average summer figure has been only about ten degrees higher. There is a British-owned club known as the West End, and Wallace Groves is planning to build a large-scale, plush recreation club on land under his jurisdiction.

The Freeport has offices in the United States and Britain to drum up trade for the new establishment. At this point almost all the capital has been from U.S. sources. Publicists for the venture claim that much, if not all, the manufactured material coming from overseas for assembly in the United States can be eventually processed at the Freeport.

One of the chief advantages being offered as a lure is cheap labor, which is referred to as "inexpensive labor." Unions all over the Bahamas have been extremely weak, despite the fact that serious worker riots in Nassau earlier this year resulted in some reforms.

The Freeport has the right to bring in labor from any part of the world, including the Far East. This, of course, is a very potent weapon against any demands by local labor.

Only a small number of workers, largely in construction, together with some technical personnel, have been involved thus far in the establishment of the Freeport. Estimates—perhaps too extravagant — indicate that as many as 100,000 workers may be employed when the Freeport reaches its high point.

American labor should watch with close interest the manner in which this "industrial paradise" develops. Is it going to be a haven for runaways as it was in the days when smugglers and rum-runners used the sanctuaries afforded by Bahama's topography and proximity to our shores? Is the Grand Bahama Port Authority, Ltd., a genuine effort to bring solid and economic development? We shall see.

A Significant New Play

By MARK STARR

Educational Director,
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

THE professional critics have given details of the research, writing, stage techniques and cast that have made "The Man Who Never Died" great theater. My purpose is to create interest in the social significance of the play which opened recently at the Jan Hus Theater in Manhattan and which well deserves a long run. This play tells the story of Joe Hill.

"The Man Who Never Died" is in an entirely different world from the usual Broadway girlie show catering to jaded business men and hucksters. This is a vivid page out of labor history which merits attention.

We too often forget that it was the lonely, dedicated pioneers who in diverse ways made our modern labor movement possible.

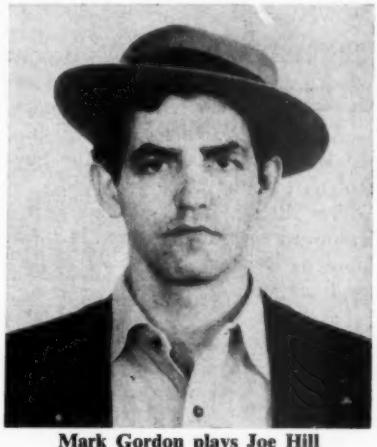
But for the Joe Hills, who literally took their lives in their hands, the excessive exploitation by the robber barons at the beginning of this century would not have been transformed into an acceptance of unions and the workers' right to share in the fruits of an ever-increasing productivity.

Unions should be sure that their members see this play so that they can get a real image of the early struggles of labor. To look back will inspire appreciation of past progress and prepare union members for further advances.

"The Man Who Never Died" will help them to prize the great changes which have come in our industrial relations. Joe Hill's story comes over the footlights with all the impact of modern theatrical techniques.

Then, too, make no mistake, the fight is not over.

Only 35 per cent of the wage and salary receivers are organized. Automation is threatening to reduce employment in the basic industries. Wages strive to catch up with inflated prices. Even now picket lines are



Mark Gordon plays Joe Hill in the Barrie Stavis drama.

broken and union leaders beaten up in backward parts of our country.

"The Man Who Never Died" may be propaganda for labor unions, but it is propaganda rooted in the facts of historical record. The dynastic family fortunes which started in that period have indeed been sublimated in large part into foundations to aid medicine, culture and education, yet their origins should not be forgotten.

This play does not have the color and gaiety and slapstick satire of "The Pajama Game" or "Pins and Needles," although it is in tune with the "Men Awake" song of the latter. Joe Hill's shooting in the play is comparable to the Triangle Fire scenes in the Ladies' Garment Workers' classic film, "With These Hands."

Union members who sing will have a special interest in Joe Hill, whose songs have helped to hold many a picket line firm. The play conveys labor history as no pamphlet or book could do.

For too long the Stalinists captured and perverted labor songs and plays. Maybe in this play we have a new beginning in a labor theater in the United States.

Cooperative Housing for Working People

By A. E. KAZAN
Executive Vice-President,
United Housing Foundation

THE history of labor's interest and support of consumer cooperatives in the United States predates the Knights of St. Crispin, the Knights of Labor and the Sovereigns of Industry.

The little-known National Labor Union, which was organized in Baltimore in 1866, at one of its earliest meetings stated:

"We view with delight the organization of cooperative stores and workshops, and would urge their formation in every section of the country and in every branch of business."

While the National Labor Union, which was intended as a national federation of labor, never amounted to much, it is interesting to recall its pronouncement on cooperatives, the first of many.

From its early days the American Federation of Labor gave attention to the subject of cooperation.

In 1896, at its sixteenth annual convention, the American Federation of Labor passed the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, from experience we have learned that trade unionism and cooperation are twin sisters in the onward march of progress and that where one exists the other is almost compelled by nature's inexorable laws to follow, and

"WHEREAS, we believe the credit system to be derogatory and dangerous to any community, as it inculcates a careless method of business, and men too often learn too late the effect of buying without cash; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommend to all affiliated bodies the careful consideration of the cooperative principle as expressed in the Rochdale system of cooperative distribution and production, and, wherever favorable conditions exist, to give their aid to such cooperative efforts."

In later years the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations passed similar resolutions on numerous occasions.

Labor's support of cooperatives has not been limited to official pronouncements. There is a long history of labor's participation in cooperative enterprises of all kinds. Unfortunately, the major effort of many unions was in the highly competitive food distribution field, and relatively few of those cooperatives prospered.

More recently, as a result of the success of credit unions, health and housing cooperatives and a few co-op supermarkets, labor's interest in the cooperative idea has been renewed. Credit should also be given to the close relationship between unions and co-ops in Britain, the Scandinavian countries and West Germany.

THE consumer cooperative movement in the United States is no longer in its infancy. While it is still primarily a rural movement, cooperatives are now making inroads in many metropolitan centers.

Millions of families are affiliated with cooperatives. These cooperative enterprises include credit unions, housing cooperatives, health cooperatives, service stations, co-op food stores, insurance companies, farm supply cooperatives, REA cooperatives and many others.

The importance of these cooperatives should not be measured in economic terms only. It is quite true that cooperatives are a small and relatively insignificant part of the total economy of the United States.

Cooperatives should be evaluated in terms of their service to people. Who can measure the value of a rural electrification co-op to a farmer in Montana? What price tag can be placed on the value of a cooperative hospital in a remote community in Texas? Can the value to the members of a credit union in a strike-bound plant be measured? Can family life in a housing community be measured accurately by the cost of the monthly carrying charges?

It is as impossible to answer these questions as it would be to ascertain the full value of union membership to the millions of organized workers and their families. The true significance of important institutions cannot be measured in monetary terms.

More than thirty years have elapsed since the opening of the Amalgamated Housing Cooperative in New York City. This was the first housing cooperative to be sponsored by a labor union. The late Sidney Hillman, Jacob Potofsky and others had the vision to see that laboring people could join together, pool their savings and build their own homes.

Using democratic, cooperative principles, these people have managed their multi-million development very successfully. Its size increased from a few hundred to 1,500 families.

These families did more than provide themselves with reasonably priced housing. With their common bond of cooperative ownership as a starting place, they changed apartment house living in a great city into a community of friendly neighbors. Time and again, in good times and bad, in war and in peace, these cooperators have demonstrated their concern and given assistance to those in distress.

Other organizations in the com-

munity were formed on a cooperative basis. First, a credit union, then a small co-op store which grew into a large successful cooperative supermarket, a cooperative nursery school, a day camp for children in the summer time.

The community had its own well-stocked library until the city provided one. The community provides its own cultural program, lectures and recitals. These are an important part of the community's life. Crafts, art, music, dancing and many other clubs have been organized—all this part of a housing cooperative started more than three decades ago in a great metropolis with the assistance of a progressive union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The most important result of the success of the first union-sponsored cooperative housing project was that the idea spread. Amalgamated Dwellings and Hillman Houses, both sponsored by the ACWA, were built on the Lower East Side of New York. Then the Meat Cutters sponsored a housing project in Brooklyn.

AFTER World War II other unions recognized the advantages of union-sponsored cooperative developments. Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in New York City was the first union to participate in the financing of a cooperative housing project.

Local 3 sponsored Electchester, a huge development in Queens, one of Gotham's five boroughs. The 2,226-unit project was built at a cost of about $22,000,000. Local 3, in conjunction with the Joint Electrical Industries Board, provided part of the mortgage from its pension funds.

A recently completed union-sponsored housing cooperative is the 1,672-unit ILGWU Cooperative Village. Sponsored by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the project cost $20,000,000. The union set a precedent when it became both sponsor and sole mortgagee. The ILGWU invested $15,000,000 of its pension funds in this cooperative. The average monthly carrying charges in this cooperative are $17 a room.

What does cooperative housing mean to working people? Today a working man in a large city is fortunate if he can find a decent apartment at a monthly rental of $30 a room. So-called middle-income housing is available at between $40 and $60 a room per month. But to be conservative, let us compare an apartment renting for $30 a room with an average four-room apartment in the ILGWU Cooperative Village.

The cooperator pays a monthly "rent" of $68. The wage-earner living in a privately owned apartment would pay $120. On a yearly basis, the cooperator pays $624 less in rent living in a cooperative than he would in a private development at $30 a room a month.

It is true that the cooperator has invested $2500 in his cooperative, but the full investment is returned to him when he wishes to leave. Let us assume that, after he has lived in the cooperative for five years, a member wishes to leave. Let us say that he has had a four-room apartment.

His $2500 investment is returned to him. On the basis of the above figures, the co-op member has saved $3120 in rent.

What other investment could this wage-earner have made which would have paid him such a return?

There are 1,672 families in the ILGWU Cooperative Village. Some have large apartments; others have small ones. Let us estimate that the yearly savings in rent per family are $500 compared with private profit apartments. In one year total savings in rent would be $836,000 and in ten years the savings to members should be a minimum of $8,360,000.

It should be recognized that the $17 room "rental" is made possible because of a variety of reasons. Foremost among these is the fact that cooperatives are non-profit.

Secondly, cooperatives do not pay any interest on the member's equity investment.

Thirdly, many cooperatives have been granted a period of partial tax abatement by the city government. This enlightened municipal tax policy makes it possible to reduce the costs per room $3 to $4 a month.

SEVEN years ago, with the objective of assisting interested groups to organize housing cooperatives, the United Housing Foundation was formed. This is a central, non-profit foundation. Its membership is comprised of existing housing cooperatives, labor unions, civic organizations and fraternal organizations.

Unions and other organizations interested in learning more about housing cooperatives can obtain competent advice and assistance from the United Housing Foundation.

One of the greatest needs of our time is good housing. With the exception of air and food, housing is the most important necessity of life. Private industry has failed to build housing in cities which the average

Unionists in New York City break ground to mark the start of 1,728-unit cooperative housing project. At extreme right is author of this article.



wage-earner can afford. While local, state and federal governments have recognized a responsibility to try to provide housing for those families which have low incomes, other families must find adequate housing as best they can.

Most unions have accepted the fact that they have a responsibility for the welfare of their members beyond the plant or shop. There is a concern not only with the member's working conditions but also with his living conditions.

We recognize that it is not the responsibility of unions to become landlords or real estate operators. However, by using the cooperative method it is possible for unions to do things to improve the living conditions of their members and other wage-earners in the community.

Labor can educate its membership to the advantages and benefits of cooperative enterprises of all kinds.

International and local unions can sponsor and promote cooperative housing projects. Some unions may also desire to participate in the financing of such projects.

Unions can join together and pool their financial resources into a central fund which could provide low-interest financing to assist cooperatives to provide housing for wage-earners.

A few unions have been doing these things.

Unions must reach decisions in regard to pension funds. These funds belong to the members. Pension funds can be invested in private profit enterprises or they can be used to promote projects which can improve the health and welfare of union members while they are still at an age to benefit from such undertakings.

The members' funds must be protected by investment in non-speculative enterprises. For years the banks and insurance companies of the nation have demonstrated the soundness of first mortgages as investments.

By using a part of their pension funds, unions have an unparalleled opportunity to make sound investments in housing cooperatives. Such action will create good housing at a reasonable cost for members and their families.

The experience of the United Housing Foundation should be invaluable to unions desiring to participate in such a program.

By a cooperative effort the wage-earner—the consumer—will benefit.

What's Happening in China?

(Continued from Page 21)

dedication to global victory under communism, the chief target for attack is the U.S., which is quite logical from *their* point of view. Rarely in history has there been such a sustained campaign of misrepresentation, vilification and hatred of a country's character and motives.

Two themes above all predominate in this constant propagandistic barrage: (1) The United States is "the center of world reaction." (2) The United States is a "paper tiger" which is bound to crumble before the pressure of the so-called "Socialist" camp of world communism.

Some illustrations:

▶An editorial in the *People's Daily* of January 4, 1958, said:

"The most vicious colonialists, those of the United States, are frantically carrying out imperialist plots in Asia and Africa, trying to take the place of the old imperialist powers and impose their new colonialist yoke on the people of Asia and Africa."

▶In a resolution adopted on May 23 by the party congress of the Chinese Communist Party it was said:

"Aggressive, imperialist circles in the United States have become the center of world reaction and the most deadly enemy of the peoples."

▶On July 18, at a mass anti-U.S. rally staged in Peiping, the mayor of the city (and Politburo member), Peng-chin, said:

"The United States government has now discarded its mask. Before the people of the whole world it now stands uncovered, its wolfish features revealed. * * * We have proved to the whole world that the U.S. imperialists, though vicious and seemingly ferocious, are not to be feared. They are only a paper tiger, outwardly strong but inwardly weak."

▶Finally, from an article, "The Forces of the New Are Bound to Defeat the Forces of Decay," in the August 6 issue of *Red Flag*, chief official journal of Red China, which sums up the whole official viewpoint of the Communists, we read:

"The East Wind will prevail over the West Wind. * * * In human history the forces of the new always defeat the forces of decay. * * * The U.S. reactionaries are paper tigers; like all reactionaries in history, they will prove to be quite powerless. * * * Rotten to the core, it is beyond recovery. The U.S. imperialists have rallied all the reactionary forces of the world to their banner. They have become the center of world reaction and made themselves the enemy of all the world's people, of world peace and the national independence movement. * * * In pursuing this reactionary policy they are digging their own grave, hell-bent to ruin. * * *

"U.S. imperialism already has one foot in the grave and can, with as much justice, be described as 'a rotting bone in a graveyard.' * * * The strong winds foretell the coming storm. None of the imperialist reactionaries who still seem outwardly strong can avoid the doom ordained by history."

In view of this brutally frank exposition of their real attitudes and intentions, there can be no excuse for anyone not knowing them.

It is against this background of complete regimentation inside China, of its clear expansionist tendency and its avowed determination to destroy the United States that the present Chinese crisis must be viewed. In their light the exclusive concentration upon the question of Quemoy and Matsu so evident in many circles in their discussion of the Far Eastern crisis becomes extraordinarily light-minded, mere piddling evasion, missing the forest because of some tiny saplings.

This was never the basic issue and we should not allow it to become so. Certainly for the Chinese Communist leaders it never was.

On the very day that I finished this article, Gerald Clark in the New York *Times* reported Communist China's Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, as saying:

"Quemoy, Matsu, Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands must be liberated as a whole; Americans must pull away

their hand from the Taiwan Strait." This is the issue. Further, Chen Yi said: "It is a total miscalculation to think that Communist China will exchange Taiwan for a seat in the United Nations. Trusteeship, demilitarization or United Nations mediation are unacceptable. * * * Communist China will ultimately enter the United Nations, and the United States will ultimately withdraw from Formosa."

What is at stake is the entire defense and security position of the United States and the democratic world. History shows that yielding to the threats of totalitarian dictators never pays. Appeasement always makes the disease it was designed to eradicate more virulent.

As the foreign policy resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO at the 1955 unity convention in New York said: "The present struggle between the Communist dictatorships and the free world is * * * between two conflicting ways of life—democracy * * * and Communist totalitarianism with its all-embracing program of world conquest and transformation. * * * Appeasement of the demands of any expansionist power, however, only encourages and invites aggression."

President George Meany in various speeches has repeatedly struck the the same needed note.

If, under Communist China's blatant bluff and barrage of threats and bombing of the islands, the United States were to withdraw from the Formosa Straits, the heart would go out of Formosa itself, the Philippines, South Korea and South Vietnam. The position of Thailand, Malaya and Burma would become exceedingly precarious. India and Japan, not to mention turbulent, divided and unstable Indonesia, would become subordinate to enormously increased pressure. The dagger of the Chinese Communist threat would then be pointed at the heart of all South and East Asia.

For the Chinese people themselves —whether on Formosa or overseas or within Communist China, where they are so ruthlessly being pressed into almost complete servitude—an American withdrawal would mean the death of all hope.

Formosa must be defended and preserved because it symbolizes an alternative to Red China. While it stands, the Chinese themselves in all parts of the world can hope for the establishment of democracy on the mainland. It is this symbol above all which Mao wants to destroy, and with it the hope that it engenders.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

▶Now serving as publicity director of the Railway Labor Executives Association is Milton Plumb, a former assistant editor in the AFL-CIO Department of Publications. A veteran newspaperman and charter member of the American Newspaper Guild, he began his career on the staff of the Detroit *Free Press* in 1931.

▶The collective bargaining policy committee of the Communications Workers of America meets in New York City this month to set goals for the union's 1959 contract negotiations. The fifty-seven-member committee includes local union representatives and national staff personnel.

▶Rudolph Faupl has been elected unanimously as the U.S. workers' representative on the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization. He succeeds George P. Delaney. Mr. Faupl is international representative of the International Association of Machinists. He is 50 years old.

▶Edward J. Cote, 57, a pioneer member of the United Auto Workers, collapsed and died while addressing a mass meeting of UAW members on behalf of the United Foundation's fund-raising campaign in Detroit.

▶The dedication of the William Green Cultural Center in Haifa, Israel, was attended by George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, as AFL-CIO representatives. The building will serve Haifa's 160,000 trade unionists.

▶The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has condemned the campaign of intimidation against Boris Pasternak, the Russian novelist. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet dictator, was denounced in the statement, which was published as an editorial in the ICFTU's monthly magazine.

▶Mary E. Kelly, brown-eyed and 20, was nominated by Local 2, Butcher Workmen, as its candidate in the Massachusetts Seafood Queen contest. Miss Kelly and her father, Lester Kelly, are both employed by Gorton's of Gloucester.

▶Carl West of Local 573 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes, Springfield, is the new president of the Illinois State Culinary Alliance. Mrs. Anna C. Rimington of Local 327, Peoria, won reelection to her nineteenth term as secretary-treasurer.



Janet Harris of New Jersey won "Miss Union Secretary of 1958" contest. Comely lass works for locals of ILGWU in South River.

▶Militancy in a twenty-seven-day strike has brought victory at Columbus, Miss., to the members of Local 794, International Union of Electrical Workers, employed at the American Bosch Arma Corporation.

▶The New York State Labor Department reports that the $1100 average income in the Empire State in 1956 was $640 above the national average.

WHAT THEY SAY

Lyndon B. Johnson, *majority leader, United States Senate*—Maturity reserves its rewards for those who turn most willingly to face the future's challenge. As it is with each of us in our personal lives, so it is also with our nation. Nations, too, grow older. Nations, too, assume burdens of maturity. With nations as with individuals, maturity requires a turning away from the certainties of yesterday to meet the uncertainties and unknowns of the present and the future.



This I consider no fearful prospect. Life without challenge is life without reward. Whether among men or among nations, absence of challenge can only mean mediocrity —and in such a climate greatness cannot flourish.

Looking about us at the world today, we can see on every hand a rising demand for American greatness—a greatness of mind and spirit and character and purpose such as has never been demanded of us in the past.

We have come to the time of a great national rebuilding. We must rebuild the American spirit and, with it, the fiber of the American character. We must rebuild the American image before the world and, with it, the world's respect for the principles for which America has stood.

John Brophy, *special representative, AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department*—Organized labor knows that the winning of better wages is not the full answer—if people must continue to live in slums. It is not enough to win more leisure—if no facilities exist so that leisure can be fully enjoyed. Medical insurance is a strong safeguard for a worker's family—but not strong enough if hospital and medical facilities are lacking. Labor is deeply committed to the proposition that what is good for the community is good for labor. The effective trade union works not only for the good of its members but for the good of all citizens.



It is a basic principle that the union member is first and foremost a citizen of his community. He has a responsibility to work with his fellow citizens in making his community a good place in which to live and work.

Through community service activities, organized labor is striving to do its part in building better communities. Labor seeks to make the broad field of social welfare more representative of the people and more responsive to the people's needs.

Wayne Morse, *Senator from Oregon* —There can be no valid objection to the importation of motion pictures or recordings of great orchestras of other lands. These are forthright, honest expressions of the creative genius of the countries where they are made, and their importation enriches our own lives and furthers international good will and understanding.



What the American Federation of Musicians does complain about—and justly so—may be fairly described as a species of fraud.

The overwhelming bulk of the filmed television shows which come into American homes are in every visible and audible respect a wholly American-made product.

But with increasing regularity the accompanying music is being scored abroad, where musicians are employed at lower rates. This fact is never disclosed to the public whose patronage ultimately pays for the film.

I have demanded a Congressional inquiry to determine to what degree the immigration statute is now being nullified in effect by an inanimate "foreign musician" who occupies his chair without even going on the producer's payroll.

Isidore Nagler, *a leader of International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*—The American trade union movement has been in the forefront of the fight to establish equal economic opportunity. At the merger convention of the AFL-CIO in 1955, American labor wrote into its constitution the principle of "equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin."



As one who came to my adopted country in pursuit of freedom and opportunity, I take deep personal pride in the great contribution the American trade union movement has made toward establishing the principles and practices of equal rights for all.

I am also proud that from its very inception my own organization, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, has pioneered in the labor movement and in the community as a whole in extending the frontiers of economic opportunity to every worker and every citizen.

Let us dedicate ourselves to the great principles of human brotherhood and go forward toward that day when every man in every country will enjoy on an equal plane with his fellow men the opportunity for material and spiritual well-being.

O. A. Knight, *president, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers*—Our strength comes from the people we are privileged to represent. It has been our goal to participate to the fullest extent in helping to create better places to live for all of us in the many communities where we make our homes. We have always sought to perform to the fullest our duties as citizens of democracy by participating in the political and legislative processes of our government to the end that the government might always be the servant of the people and not its master.



It has been our good fortune to help give concrete expression to the aspirations of working people in the never-ending struggle for freedom, dignity and security.

TUNE IN . . .



EDWARD P. MORGAN *and* JOHN W. VANDERCOOK

TO KEEP UP WITH THE DAY'S NEWS, you can't do better than to form the habit of listening to Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook. You can't be a good citizen unless you keep yourself informed on the significant day-to-day developments at home and abroad. Morgan and Vandercook provide the essential information—and they also help their listeners to grasp the meaning of the news. If you haven't been hearing the sparkling broadcasts of these top-ranking newsmen, both of whom are sponsored by the AFL-CIO as a public service, you've been depriving yourself of genuine educational treats.

Don't Miss Morgan and Vandercook!





THIS IS THE TIME OF YEAR WHEN WE FLOCK
TO THE STORES TO BUY CHRISTMAS GIFTS.
THIS IS THE TIME OF YEAR WHEN MOST OF US
MAKE NUMEROUS PURCHASES AND SPEND RATHER FREELY.
EVEN IF WE'RE IN A RUSH, LET'S ALWAYS REMEMBER TO . . .



SHOP UNION LABEL



Here is a timely message from Joseph Lewis, the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO's Union Label and Service Trades Department:

THIS is the time of year when the common bond which embraces the entire membership of organized labor is at its strongest. The true feeling of brotherhood and "one for all and all for one" is the keynote of the Yuletide season.

Our Department recommends and urges that all members of trade unions keep in mind the union label, shop card and service button when making their Christmas gift purchases. With due regard for the highest quality and superb craftsmanship of union label merchandise and the expertness of union services, we feel that loyalty to these emblems is exceedingly appropriate at this time because they are the true symbols of brotherhood. And brotherhood is symbolic of the Christmas spirit.

The principle of "one for all and all for one" clearly expresses the spirit of the closeness which binds our membership. When trade unionists demand the union label, the shop card and the service button, they are making use of the most effective weapons in the possession of organized working people. When they are utilized—by simply spending union-earned money for union goods and union services—union members stand to reap their just rewards. It is not a selfish action when it results in the highest living standards of all times for the greatest number of people.

This accumulating factor in purchasing power is the lifeblood of our economy. Prosperity depends upon general employment at good wages. Depressions come when payrolls drop off. Purchasing power means more to America than many realize. It is the basis for our economic stability.

Among other results of buying power wisely used is the square deal it gives to employers who display the union label on their goods or designate their services by the shop card or service button.

Let us all—especially at this time of the year—look upon these emblems of organized labor as torches that help to light the way to freedom, peace and good times for people of good will throughout the world. Do your shopping the union label way!

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